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Short Title *BNJ Vol. 63, 1993*

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THE BRITISH
NUMISMATIC JOURNAL
1993

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC JOURNAL 1993

INCLUDING THE

*Proceedings of the British Numismatic Society
for the year 1993*

EDITED BY

B.J. COOK AND E.M. BESLY

VOLUME 63

1994

© THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1994
ISSN 0143-8956

Produced by Alan Sutton Publishing Limited,
Phoenix Mill, Far Thrupp, Stroud, Glos. GL5 2BU
Printed in Great Britain by WBC, Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan

CONTENTS

Coin-loss and the Roman occupation of North-west England <i>by</i> DAVID SHOTTER	1
Of dies, design changes, and square lettering in the opening phase of the Short Cross coinage <i>by</i> JEFFREY P. MASS	20
The chronology of Short Cross Class Ia <i>by</i> MARTIN ALLEN	53
York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI <i>by</i> MARVIN LESSEN	59
A case-history of British bullion: Cardiganshire silver and the Feathers coinage 1671–1731 <i>by</i> GEORGE C. BOON	65
Recent coin hoards from Wales, 1985–1992 <i>by</i> EDWARD BESLY	84
Additions and corrections to Thompson's <i>Inventory</i> and Brown and Dolley's <i>Coin Hoards</i> – Part 1 <i>by</i> H.E. MANVILLE	91
Andreas Fountaine Eques Auratus A.A.A.F. III Vir <i>by</i> H.E. PAGAN	114
 SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES	
Two new halfpennies of Edward the Elder and Athelstan <i>by</i> M.A.S. BLACKBURN	123
A new type of Edward the Confessor for the 'Newport' mint <i>by</i> M.A.S. BLACKBURN, M.J. BONSER and W.J. CONTE	125
A new mint for Stephen – RVC I (Rochester) <i>by</i> M.A.S. BLACKBURN	126
Three Durham notes <i>by</i> LORD STEWARTBY	128
Did Edward IV strike coins in Burgundy?: a Rose Noble in stone in Maastricht <i>by</i> P.W. HAMMOND and LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS	129
 COIN REGISTER	 133
 REVIEWS	
M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell (editors), <i>Metallurgy in Numismatics</i> Vol. 3 (C.E. Challis)	159
A. Vince (editor), <i>Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: 2. Finds and environmental evidence</i> (Hugh Pagan)	159
P. & B.R. Withers, <i>British Coin Weights: A Corpus of Coin-Weights made in England, Scotland and Ireland for use in Britain</i> (Norman Biggs)	160
 OBITUARIES	
Gordon Vincent Doubleday (Peter Mitchell)	163
Wilfrid Slayter (Marion Archibald)	165
 PROCEEDINGS 1993	 167
 ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1992	 168
 PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 1993	 170
 REVISED RULES FOR THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL	 178
 INDEX	 179
 The British Numismatic Society	 193
 Abbreviations	 193

COIN-LOSS AND THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF NORTH-WEST ENGLAND

DAVID SHOTTER

FOR more than half a century the recording and publication of Roman coin-finds in Scotland has provided a body of evidence of immeasurable importance to all who are concerned with the study of the Roman occupation of Scottish sites.¹ Elsewhere in Britain, however, whilst such work may have been undertaken with respect to individual sites, it has rarely been published on a regional basis. Over the last two decades an attempt has been made to collect all information on Roman coins found in north-west England – an area covered by the historic counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire.² The purpose of this compilation has been to maximise the contribution of the coin-evidence to our understanding of the Roman occupation of north-west England through which we may hope to see not just the chronology of occupation of individual sites, but also the nature of that occupation, and look further afield for evidence of the social and economic effects on the region of the concentrations of Romanised activity in the forts and their extra-mural settlements.

It is, however, important to recognise the shortcomings in the evidence itself and the difficulties inherent in its interpretation. It is self-evident that we need site-samples which are as large as possible and to achieve this, we must call upon coins found at different times and in a variety of circumstances, and which have been recorded with variable levels of completeness, and even of accuracy. At most sites in north-west England, the number of coins recovered during controlled excavations has been relatively small, although Carlisle, probably the most significant site in the region, is an exception to this, with the majority of its sample of two thousand coins deriving from the work undertaken since the mid-1970s by the city's Archaeological Unit. In other cases, however, coins lie in the collections of local museums or have been reported by metal-detecting enthusiasts and in both instances provenances are often only tenuously established.

The antiquarian tradition in the north-west has been strong, and considerable numbers of coins are recorded in such sources. However, with such material, in addition to the expected problem of variable standards of recording, we have the added difficulty of assessing sampling-criteria, which obviously have their roots in the motives of the antiquarians themselves. Some, at least, were collectors or 'agents' for collectors, and were therefore attracted by the better-produced and better-preserved pieces. This has probably led to a bias in many such records towards coins of the first two centuries AD, with less attention paid to the often scrappy and visually unrewarding coins which dominated from the middle of the third century AD.

The final destination of many such coins may have been the coin-cabinet of the lord of the

Acknowledgements. My thanks are due to Peter Lee of Lancaster University Archaeological Unit for drawing the maps which appear as figs. 1–6. I am also grateful to Adrian Olivier and Rachel Newman (of Lancaster University Archaeological Unit), to Mike McCarthy and Ian Caruana (of Carlisle Archaeology Unit), and to Tony Wilmott (of Central Excavation Unit) for allowing me to make use of information about Roman coins from their sites in advance of their full publication.

¹ The work was pioneered in *PSAS* by Sir George MacDonald, continued by Anne Robertson, and is currently in the charge of Donal Bateson.

² D.C.A. Shotton, *Roman Coins from North-west England* (Lancaster, 1990); it is intended that quinquennial supplements to the original compendium will be published by the Centre for North-west Regional Studies at Lancaster University. My compilation contains the detailed find-references, which will not be repeated here.

manor. Over a period of generations this often resulted in the effective disappearance of site-collections, leaving no opportunity for modern re-examination of the coins concerned. An example in the north-west is provided by the three hundred or so coins collected from the fort at Ambleside by and for the Braithwaite family. It was recorded in the late seventeenth century that these coins were to be left as a bequest to the Ashmolean Museum, but there are strong reasons for believing that the coins went elsewhere, and have subsequently disappeared. A happier story is provided by Lancaster where two local antiquarians of the nineteenth century – Thomas Dalzell and Corbyn Barrow – made meticulous records of what they found. The re-discovery of their notebooks in Lancaster Museum has enabled a good part of the Museum's collection of Roman coins to be provenanced, and has allowed the partial reconstruction of a hoard of republican and early imperial denarii, found in the city in 1856.

A distinct problem which arises out of the use of antiquarian evidence concerns the question of determining the status of recorded coins – whether they were casual losses of the Roman period, hoards, votive deposits, or even subsequent redepositions. Few sites in the north-west were fortunate enough to benefit from a determined attempt at an early stage to resolve such difficulties. In the case of Manchester, however, Professor R.S. Conway made a significant effort to bring order to the large number of coins reported in the industrial upheavals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.³ Even so, it clearly proved impossible to eliminate completely the distortion of the record of casual losses at the site caused by the dispersal of hoards, particularly the large hoard of fourth-century coins found at Knott Mill in 1849. Such confusions continue to occur, as is shown by the two similar groups of denarii recorded from the fort at Birdoswald in 1930 and 1949,⁴ and by a small group of denarii found during excavations at Ribchester in 1978,⁵ and judged by a coroner's inquest – almost certainly incorrectly – to have represented a casual loss.

The long time-spans covered by many savers' hoards alert us to the length of time over which coins might remain legal tender. It can be seen, for example, from the Standish (Wigan) hoard of 1926 that a worn denarius of Nero might represent a loss as late as the reign of Severus Alexander, and the legionary denarii of Marcus Antonius appear to have been still more resilient.⁶ However, whilst it is clear that the date-of-loss is more significant in many cases than the date-of-issue, it is rare, except in modern excavation-reports, to find any indication of a coin's state of wear. Even though the estimation of wear must be a very subjective matter, depending on individual and incalculable considerations, a broad sense of whether a coin is little worn or very worn represents an important piece of information, which will clearly affect interpretation of that coin's significance.

In some cases, we may know of political or monetary decisions which had a major impact on the circulation of particular types of coin. For example, what might be the fate of coins issued by an emperor who suffered the posthumous *damnatio memoriae*? Some decisions are reasonably clear in their effect: the historian Cassius Dio, for example, records that in c. AD 110, the Emperor Trajan recalled old silver coins.⁷ Reece's study in this matter has demonstrated that as a result republican denarii (except for those of Marcus Antonius) and pre-Neronian imperial denarii ceased to circulate.⁸ Moreover, it is clear that in the case of

³ In F.A. Bruton, *The Roman Fort at Manchester* (Manchester, 1909).

⁴ The group found in 1930 was clearly a hoard (I.A. Richmond, 'Excavations on Hadrian's Wall in the Birdoswald to Pike Hill sector', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Series 2* (henceforth CW²), 31 (1931), 122–34), whilst the 1949 group represented a casual loss (I.A. Richmond, 'The Birdoswald hoard and its composition', CW² 54 (1954), 56–60).

⁵ The coins and the circumstances of discovery are discussed in D.C.A. Shotter, 'Six Roman hoards from Lancashire', *Lancs Arch J* 2 (1982), 39–45.

⁶ D.C.A. Shotter, 'Roman coin hoards from Standish', *Lancs Arch J* 2 (1982), 33–8.

⁷ Cassius Dio LXVIII. 15, 3.

⁸ R. Reece, 'Numerical aspects of Roman coin hoards in Britain', in *Coins and the Archaeologist*, edited by P.J. Casey and R. Reece, BAR British Series 4 (Oxford, 1974), pp. 78–94.

Britain this took a little time to have effect – indeed, until the early Hadrianic period (c. AD 120). Thus, the presence of early denarii in a partly-recorded hoard, such as that of 1856 from Lancaster (see above), makes it unlikely that the full hoard contained coins later than the early years of Hadrian's reign.

Again, Casey has demonstrated the effect on circulating coinage of the decision in the mid-third century AD to issue a double-sestertius which, apart from the radiate obverse, was very similar in size and appearance to the 'single' sestertius.⁹ It is evident that this gave a boost in circulation-life to old, often very worn, sestertii – as is clearly shown by a small hoard from Flaggrass (Cambridgeshire), now in Wisbech Museum, which contained eight very worn second-century sestertii and a single radiate-sestertius of Postumus.¹⁰ A different kind of issue is raised by Constantine's decision for political reasons to claim Claudius II (Gothicus) as an ancestor.¹¹ We may wonder how this should affect our interpretation of finds of coins of Claudius II, and particularly those of the posthumous DIVVS CLAVDIVS issues, which could well refer to the period in the early AD 320s, when Constantine was trying to justify and establish a unitary imperial authority.

As a general monetary consideration we should not overlook the effects of inflation. Although this was to cause chaos in the third and fourth centuries, its less dramatic, though still significant, effects in the second century need to be kept in mind. Just as we have witnessed denominational disturbance in our own money in the last quarter of a century, we should note that in Rome the second century saw the progressive disappearance of the quadrans, semis, as, and even the dupondius, so that by the end of that century, the denarius and sestertius were the chief coins in circulation. As Casey has shown, this will have had an impact in terms of site-totals, and perhaps the zeal with which a lost coin may have been pursued.¹² It also suggests that comparisons of sites and periods have to be based on something other than simple numbers of coins lost, and that the 'recovered face-value' may provide a more meaningful basis for discussion.

Two further practical points may be made: first, we need precise find-spots for coins, since it is becoming clear that at some sites in the north-west different parts of the same site may present a different chronological 'face'. This is, for example, very pronounced at Ribchester, where the chronological span of coins recovered from fort-locations continues into the middle of the fourth century, but where extra-mural locations have so far failed to produce coins later than the late Antonine period.¹³ The cause of this is so far elusive. It follows, however, that we should be unwise to draw too binding conclusions concerning the *military* occupation of a site where, as at Watercrook (Kendal), the bulk of known coins have derived from excavations in the extra-mural settlement. The paramount need for such precision of find-spot has been clearly highlighted in recent years by the discussion of coin-finds from the Antonine Wall, and their contribution to the debate on the termination of the Wall's occupation.¹⁴

Second, we should note the variable sizes of site-samples (see Appendix). Some sites have yielded a mere scatter of coins, or even none at all, whilst Carlisle has produced in excess of two thousand. A few sites have samples of between one hundred and three hundred, but we should be very unwise to place too much reliance on trends which appear to emerge from samples significantly smaller than one hundred coins. It should be noted that in general small samples indicate sites at which little excavation has taken place, but even at those sites which

⁹ P.J. Casey, 'The interpretation of Romano-British site finds', in *Coins and the Archaeologist* (note 8), pp. 37–51.

¹⁰ D.C.A. Shotton, 'Unpublished hoards in the Wisbech and Fenland Museum', *CH* 4 (1978), 47–50.

¹¹ E.g., *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 699; Trebellius Pollio, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Divus Claudius* 13, 1–4.

¹² Casey, 'The interpretation of Romano-British site-finds' (note 9), p. 44.

¹³ D.C.A. Shotton, *Roman Coins from North-west England* (Lancaster, 1990), pp. 35f.

¹⁴ D.C.A. Shotton, 'Coin evidence and the northern frontier in the second century A.D.', *PSAS* 107 (1976), 81–91.

have produced the larger samples the percentage-area of ground-space tested will represent a very small proportion of the whole site.

We have seen that for a variety of reasons discussions of occupation-patterns at sites in north-west England are most fruitful for the period up to the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Within that period, we may look for evidence concerning the initial occupation of sites, troop-movements dictated by changing frontier-policies, and, to an extent, types of garrison.

Interpretations of the Roman conquest of north-west England have naturally been much dependent on Tacitus' accounts and comments in the *Agricola*, *Histories* and *Annals*;¹⁵ the broad purport of these accounts has been taken as indicating that the major contributor to conquest was Agricola, and that, after his recall in AD 83, little happened in the region until the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in the early 120s. The evidence provided by coin-loss has helped in releasing the Agricolan 'stranglehold' and showing that the adjective, 'Agricolan', has been used far too lightly in the past.¹⁶

The earliest events described by Tacitus (in the *Annals*) date from the time when the Brigantes of northern England still lay outside the province of Britannia. It is clear that, from time to time, relations between the main Brigantian leaders were fraught, necessitating the use of the Roman army to restore the equilibrium. What mark has been left in north-west England by such military activity in the 50s and 60s? There are certainly no known forts north of Chester to which so early a date can be ascribed. But there are – mainly from coastal locations – a considerable number of pre-Neronian *aes* coins, including a significant number of Claudian copies. Since such coins have very rarely been reported from stratified deposits in site excavations relating to the Flavian period or later, we may reasonably infer that finds of these coins may be taken as indications of pre-Flavian activity.¹⁷

There is currently no suggestion that permanent occupation was undertaken at this stage at any site north of Chester, so these coins provide our only clue to what Tacitus may have meant. It would seem reasonable to suppose that troops based at Chester were taken by ship up the north-west coast and landed at appropriate points. The coin finds suggests that these points included the estuaries of the Mersey, the Ribble and the Lune, each of which will have provided access into the interior, together with coastal locations in southern Cumbria and around the Solway Plain (fig. 1).

The client-kingdom of the Brigantes finally broke down in AD 69, and the full-scale intervention was required of Vespasian's first governor, Petillius Cerialis. His progress east of the Pennines, leading to the establishment of the legionary fortress at York, is well known. It is probable also that he crossed the Pennines by way of Stainmore, although the forts on that route have not yet yielded sufficient coins for us to be able to use them as evidence of this. Tacitus also indicates that Cerialis split the available troops with Agricola, then commander of Legion XX, with the implication that he was allowed to pursue a route on the western side of the Pennines parallel to that of Cerialis in the east. In recent years, the extension of dendrochronology into the Roman period has shown that at both Ribchester (fig. 7) and Carlisle (fig. 8) there is evidence of timbers cut in the late 60s and early 70s.¹⁸ It cannot be regarded as accidental that whilst neither of these sites has produced much pre-Flavian *aes*, both have very high Flavian coin assemblages, in which significant groups are constituted by coins of Vespasian's early years, and which exhibit little wear. Further, both have produced a

¹⁵ Tacitus, *Annals* XII. 40; *Histories* I. 2, 1 and III. 45; *Agricola* 8 and 20.

¹⁶ W.S. Hanson, *Agricola and the Conquest of the North* (1987); D.C.A. Shotter, *Romans and Britons in North-west England* (Lancaster, 1993).

¹⁷ A full discussion will be found in my forthcoming article 'Rome and the Brigantes: early hostilities', in *CW* 94 (1994).

¹⁸ For summaries, see *Britannia* 21 (1990), 320 (Carlisle) and 328 (Ribchester); also Shotter, *Romans and Britons* (note 16), pp. 13–15.

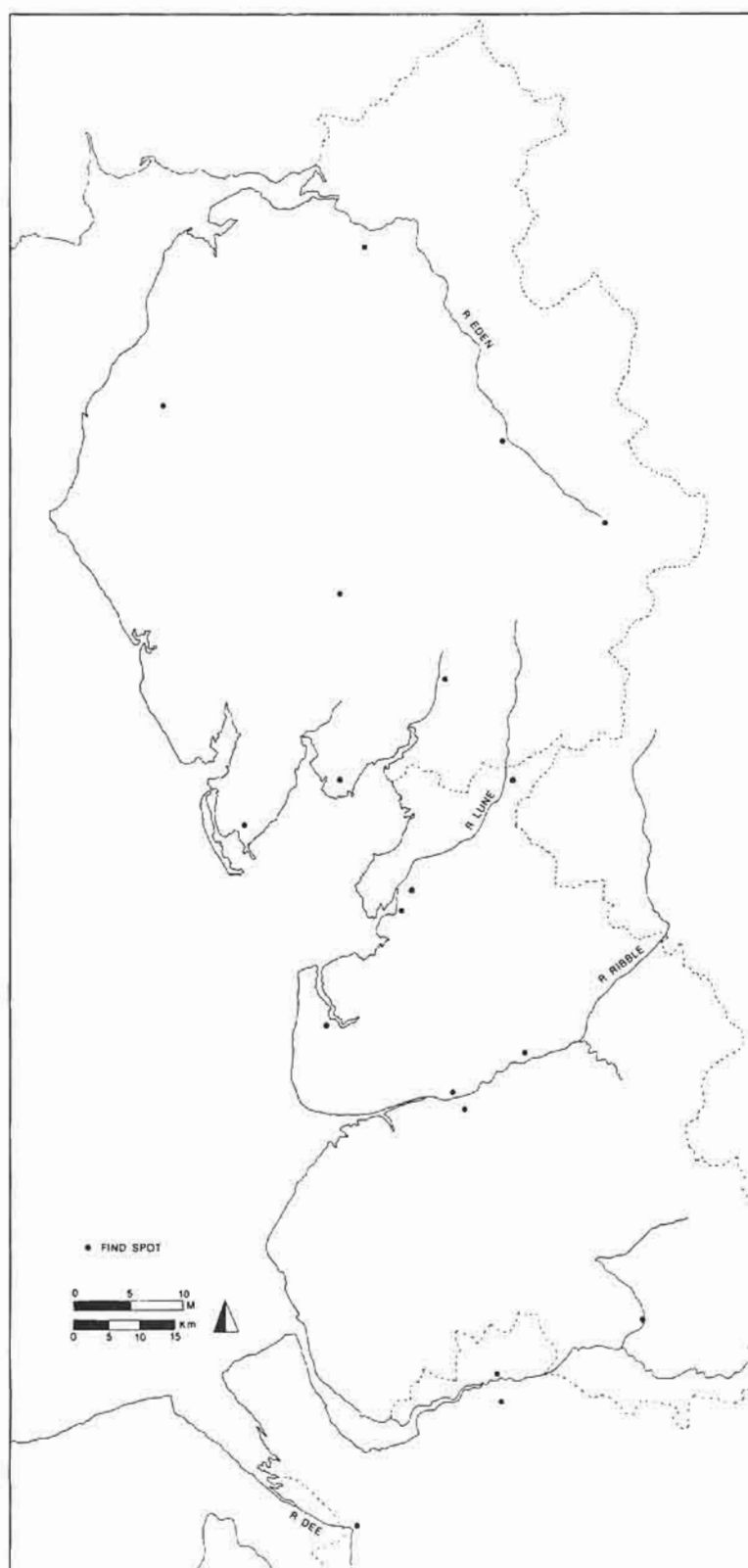


Fig. 1 North-west England: Find-spots of pre-Neronian *aes* coins

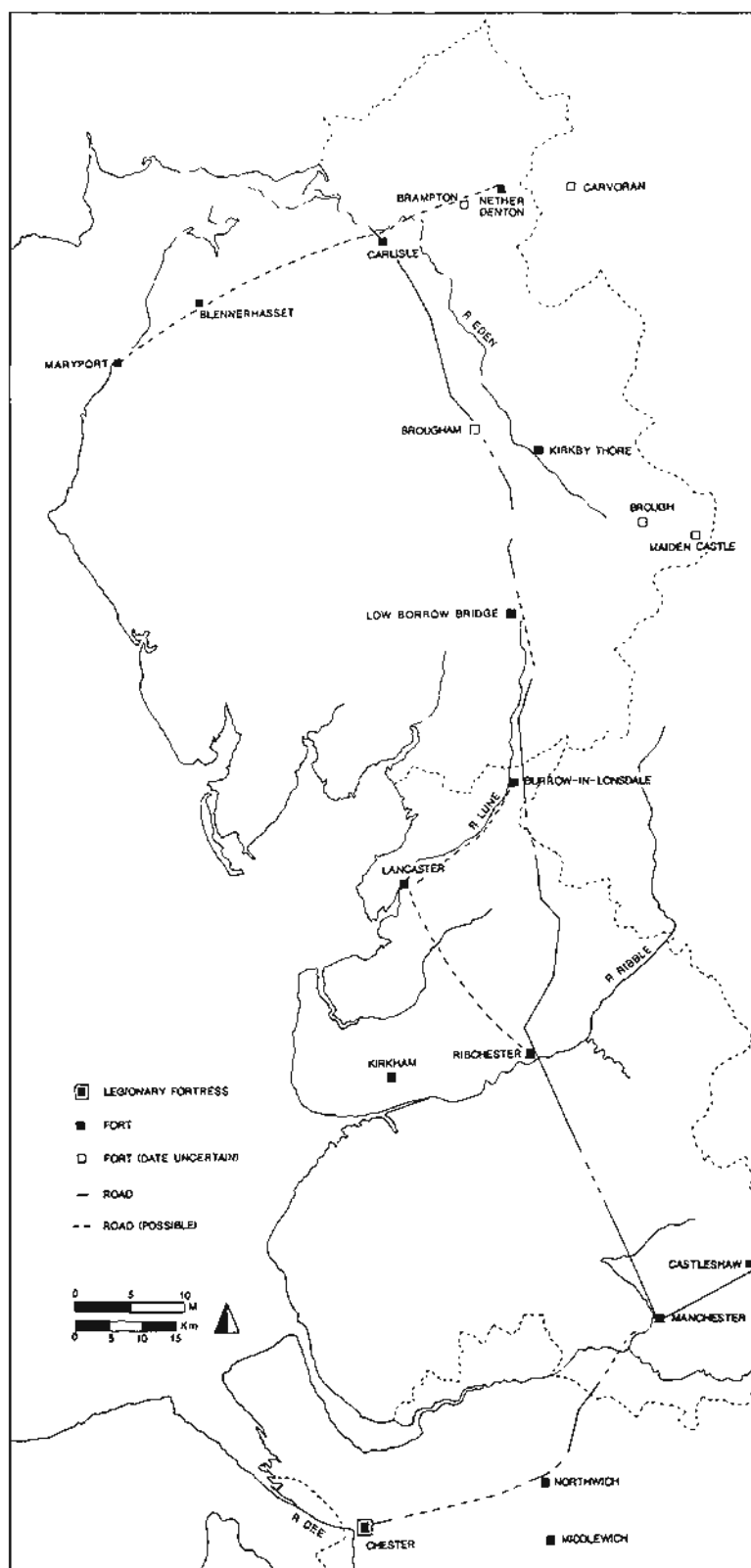


Fig. 2 North-west England: Early Flavian sites

good many republican denarii, and Ribchester has denarii of Augustus and Tiberius, which are not particularly worn. Pottery derived from field-walking has extended the list of early Flavian forts to a new one at Blennerhasset in north-west Cumbria, an apparently single-phase site which has so far yielded no coins at all (fig. 2).

The coin samples at a number of other sites (figs. 9 and 10) have shown a clear preponderance of coins of the Flavian period over Trajanic issues. These must be Flavian sites, though established a little later in the period than either Ribchester or Carlisle. It would not be unreasonable to accept these sites as Agricolan, presumably belonging to the campaign of AD 78. If so (and the evidence of coins will have made a significant contribution to this), we can postulate an early Flavian advance from Chester, following the foothills of the Bowland Fells, and the Lune and Eden valleys, to Carlisle, and possibly winning control of the good agricultural land of the Solway Plain. This was then consolidated in the late 70s by Agricola, perhaps, as later, employing amphibious operations. Unfortunately, other sites relevant to this hypothesis – Burrow-in-Lonsdale, Low Borrow Bridge and Brougham – have yielded insufficient coins or other evidence to allow them to be firmly included. It is worth noting in passing that whilst there was evidence of pre-Flavian activity in the area of Walton-le-Dale, this site does not seem to have figured in the Flavian scheme, but rather to have been replaced by Kirkham on the north side of the Ribble.

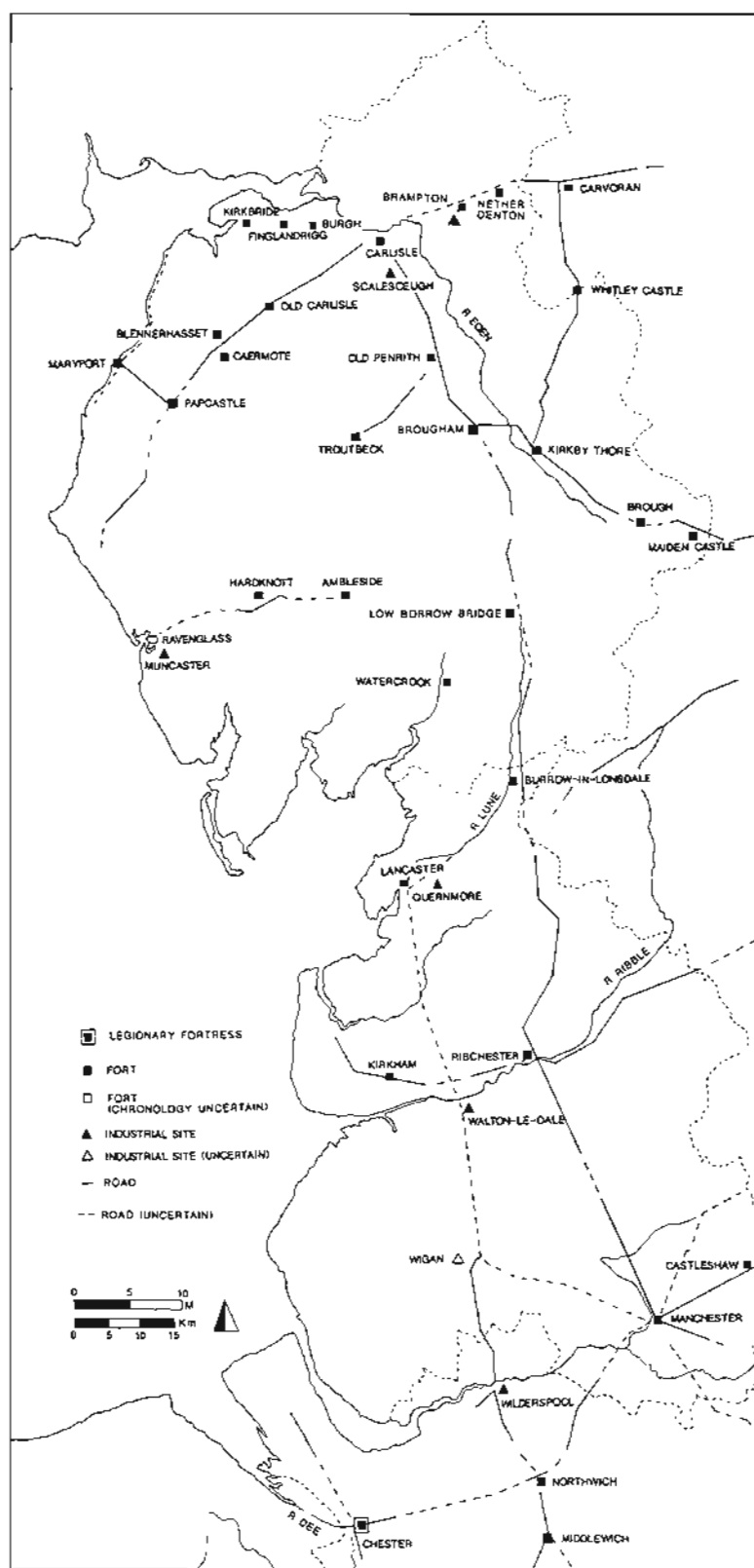
It would appear, therefore, that the coastal plain of Lancashire and the Lake District of Cumbria were left largely untouched by this early Flavian campaigning. The impression left by Tacitus in the *Historiae* is that Agricola's recall in AD 83 precipitated a period of neglect in the north. However, the volume of Domitianic coinage from Carlisle suggests that there at least activity was pursued positively, and no Agricolan or pre-Agricolan sites in the north-west show any sign of slackening activity in the late Flavian period.

Although most Cumbrian sites have seen little excavation, and have therefore produced little artefactual evidence, a picture is emerging of a group of sites with some pre-Trajanic coinage, but at which Trajanic coin-loss enjoys a preponderance over Flavian. In this group we can include Watercrook (fig. 11), Maryport, which stood at the end of a new road running from Carlisle through Old Carlisle (fig. 12), and Ravenglass, which was established at the end of a route penetrating the Lake District from Ambleside by way of the Hardknott Pass. The sites at Old Penrith (fig. 13) and Papcastle (fig. 14) probably also belong to this period for, although they show a preponderance of Flavian over Trajanic coin-loss, the Flavian coins, which in these cases derive mostly from the excavations respectively of 1978–79 and 1984–85, exhibit a considerable degree of wear and can thus be regarded as largely residual in circulation (fig. 3).

Thus, coin evidence allows us to postulate that through the later years of Domitian and the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, a positive programme for establishing the policing network was undertaken. Further south, we can also see the development of the infrastructure: a road was laid out running northwards from Chester along the Lancashire plain. Along it two major sites were established in the late Flavian years: the industrial complex at Wilderspool (fig. 15) and the military depot at Walton-le-Dale (fig. 16). The coin-evidence from these sites resembles that from the depot of Legion XX at Holt in one important respect: none of them appears significantly to outlast the second century AD.¹⁹ Clearly, military supplies must have been organised on a different basis from the Severan period (fig. 4).

The second century AD was obviously dominated by the changing frontier policy, which must have necessitated considerable movements of troops. We certainly do not have the evidence to produce a comprehensive picture of this, but coin loss helps to fill the vacuum. By

¹⁹ For the details, see W.F. Grimes, *Holt, Denbighshire: the Works Depot of the Twentieth Legion at Castle Lyons*, *Y Cymmrodor* 41 (1930), pp. 88ff.



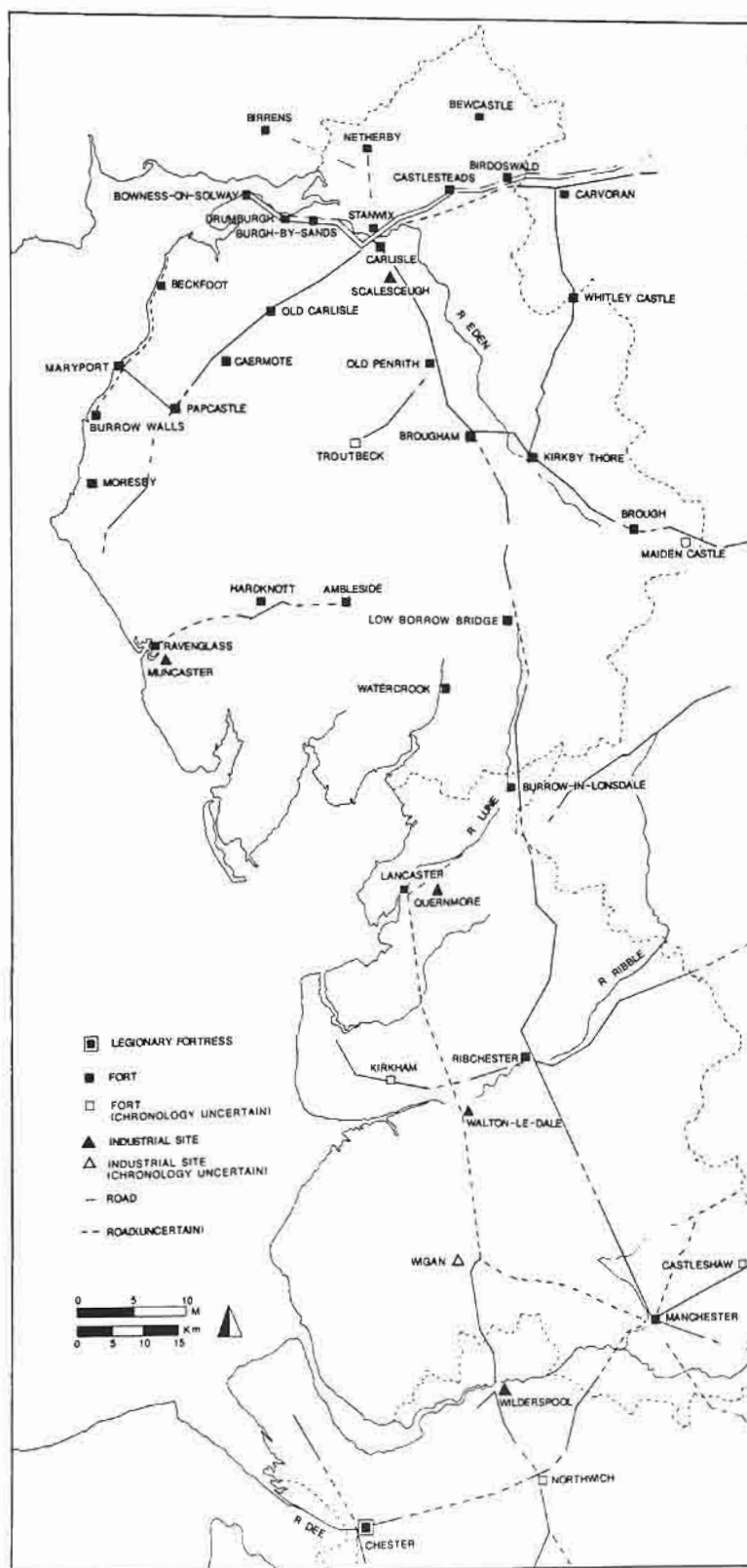


Fig. 4 North-west England: Sites occupied at the death of Hadrian

the early second century AD, we can accept the proposition that an emperor's coins saw their freest period of circulation in the early years of his successor's reign. Thus, a depressed Trajanic sample may point us not to a factor in Trajan's reign itself, but rather to one in the reign of Hadrian. Ribchester, where Trajanic and Hadrianic coin-loss are (unusually) almost identical, appears to be a case in point. Here, there is some supporting epigraphic evidence which indicates that the fort's early garrison of Asturian cavalry moved to Hadrian's Wall, thus giving a break in occupation – probably of short duration – in Hadrian's reign.²⁰ A similar phenomenon at Ravenglass, however (albeit on a small overall sample), almost certainly indicates a site which was not established until well into Hadrian's reign. That a large-scale decommissioning of forts in the north-west at this time might, however, have proved risky is suggested by a small, but not insignificant, group of hoards whose termination dates appear to lie in the late Trajanic/early Hadrianic periods.²¹

By the time that the Antonine Wall was constructed in the 140s, it appears on the evidence of depressed Hadrianic samples at some sites that more garrisons may have been wholly or partly spared from forts in north-west England – Lancaster and Watercrock, and possibly also Old Penrith, Old Carlisle and Papcastle. In addition, we may include some Hadrian's Wall forts – for example, Castlesteads (fig. 17) and Birdoswald (fig. 18),²² though in the latter case we must await full publication of the 170 or so coins which were recovered in the excavations of the late 1980s.

The make-up of the coin population in denominational terms is clearly also of significance,²³ although unfortunately too often in the past coins have been recorded simply in terms of their issuing emperors. It is clear, however, in the cases of sites for which full information exists, that some have produced noticeably larger proportions of denarii and sestertii than others, which is reflected by calculating a figure of 'as-value per coin'. Sites such as Ribchester, Papcastle and Carlisle may on this basis be thought of as having supported garrisons enjoying higher rates of pay – legionaries or auxiliary cavalry. Lancaster, a known cavalry-fort, has to be omitted from this group simply because the denominational breakdown of most of its coin-sample is unknown.

It is harder to use coin-loss of the third and fourth centuries for detailed discussion of occupation-trends in the period, because of doubts which continue to surround the circulation patterns of much of the coinage. Few reformed radiates or tetrarchic issues are found, and not many coins of the Carausian rebellion. Generally, however, radiate copies make up approximately 30 per cent of the samples of north-west sites, with a preponderance of copies of extremely poor quality. In these circumstances attention should obviously be drawn to sites (or parts of sites) with a significantly smaller sample of radiate copies. The fact that this small group includes Castlesteads (on Hadrian's Wall) serves to highlight problems of interpretation of the frontier in the third century. The inclusion of Wilderspool and Walton-le-Dale in this group has already been noticed.

Coin loss in the fourth century is equally difficult to interpret, not least because of the uncritical use of the term 'Constantinian' to cover a period of c. AD 310–360. At many sites, coins of AD 330–346 are almost as prolific as radiates. At Carlisle, where military and civilian sites can be differentiated, there is no significant difference in the incidence of these coins at the two types of site. Further, since presumably such coins continued to circulate through the fourth century, we can pick up in the coin evidence differing levels of activity at sites as the century developed, though for reasons stated earlier we have to be cautious before believing that we have necessarily received a complete picture.

²⁰ *Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, 1462–6 (Chesters).

²¹ Shotton, 'Six Roman hoards from Lancashire' (note 5).

²² B.R. Hartley, 'The Roman occupation of Scotland: the

evidence of the samian ware', *Britannia* 3 (1972), 1–55.

²³ G.R. Watson, 'The Birdoswald hoard: the pay and the purse', *CW* 54 (1954), 61–5.

We may observe, then, a decline in activity in the first half of the fourth century at sites such as Bewcastle (fig. 19), Kirkby Thore, Old Carlisle, Old Penrith, and Watercrock. Ribchester does not appear to extend much beyond the middle of the century, whilst at Maryport, Ravenglass, and perhaps Brough-under-Stainmore, a slackening in the middle of the century may have been followed by a later revival. A relatively small number of sites retain strength in coin-loss through the Valentinianic period, and have also yielded coins down to the end of the fourth century. Lancaster and Carlisle are amongst these, whilst a Theodosian solidus was found beneath Muncaster Castle, near Ravenglass. In other words, sites with the latest coin-evidence appear to be those situated on or close to the coast – Carlisle, Maryport, Ravenglass and Lancaster – and if we are correct in putting Brough-under-Stainmore in this group, then it probably points to the continuing significance of the route from York to Carlisle (fig. 5).

Coins of the late fourth century may, of course, also provide pointers to activity significantly later than their date of issue; for example, a 'strip-house' on the Blackfriars Street site in Carlisle, established in the Flavian period, yielded a worn coin of Honorius embedded in its wall-structure. Again, a solidus of Valentinian II came from a hypocaust in Scotch Street in Carlisle, stratified beneath two phases of reconstruction of the hypocaust.²⁴ Similarly, a full discussion of the significance of the late coins from Birdoswald is awaited with interest. We may also point to two north-west hoards – from Brindle (Lancashire) and Denton (Greater Manchester) – which contain worn Theodosian issues.²⁵

This paper has concentrated upon aspects of the military occupation of the north-west. We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that the presence of the Roman army in a regularly-spaced policing network offered opportunities to a substantial civilian population. The available evidence suggests that, whilst most military sites supported extra-mural settlement, we should not assume that in chronological terms these settlements were of necessity closely similar to the neighbouring forts. As has already been noted, at Ribchester the disparity between the coin-evidence from the fort and that from the civilian settlement is sufficiently large to leave us with an unanswered question. Work on a number of non-military sites in Carlisle has also shown up disparities within the group while at Lancaster, where occupation of the coastal fort appears to have continued into the fifth century, those parts of the civilian settlement which have been left undamaged by eighteenth-century cellaring appear to terminate nearer to the middle of the fourth century, prompting the suggestion that latterly soldiers and civilians may have occupied the fort together.

Finds of hoards and individual Roman coins indicate that good land close to Roman sites and in major river valleys was at a premium – perhaps reserved for local farming 'magnates' or for discharged veterans. The small number of excavations that have taken place on more remote Romano-British rural sites suggest that most, though part of the economic system, were probably not coin-using. However, just as in the south the rich measured their wealth and status perhaps in the ownership of a villa, in the north such people appear to have preferred money to an ostentatious life-style (fig. 6).

In conclusion, we must not, of course, forget that our picture of site-distribution is not yet complete. New major sites continue to be discovered, and distributions of hoards and casual coin-losses suggest strongly that further sites await discovery in places such as Colne, Affetside, Fleetwood, and on the Cumbrian coast between Ravenglass and St Bees Head. Coin evidence also suggests that those who have consistently denied the existence of Roman sites in the Furness and Cartmel areas of south Cumbria may be wrong, and that here possibly may lie the site of Ptolemy's elusive *Portus Setantiorum*.²⁶

²⁴ See *Britannia* 20 (1989), 245f.

²⁵ *NC Ser.* 6, 8 (1948), 216–18 (Brindle); M. Neville, *Tameside before 1066* (Manchester, 1992), p. 99 (Denton).

²⁶ N.J. Higham, *The Northern Counties to A.D. 1000* (1992), p. 146; see also my forthcoming note on the Roman occupation of Furness and Cartmel in *CW* 95 (1995).

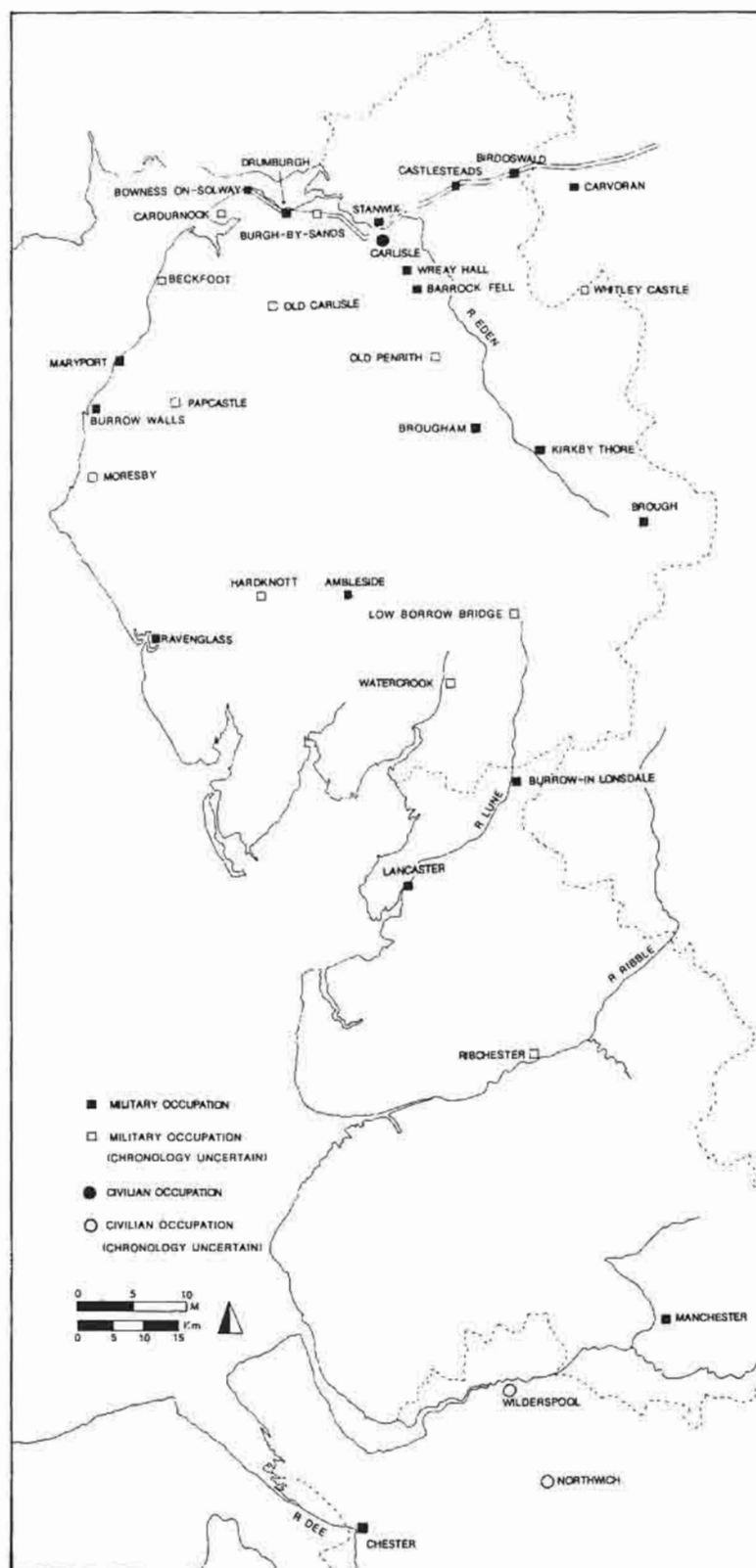


Fig. 5 North-west England: Sites occupied after AD 367

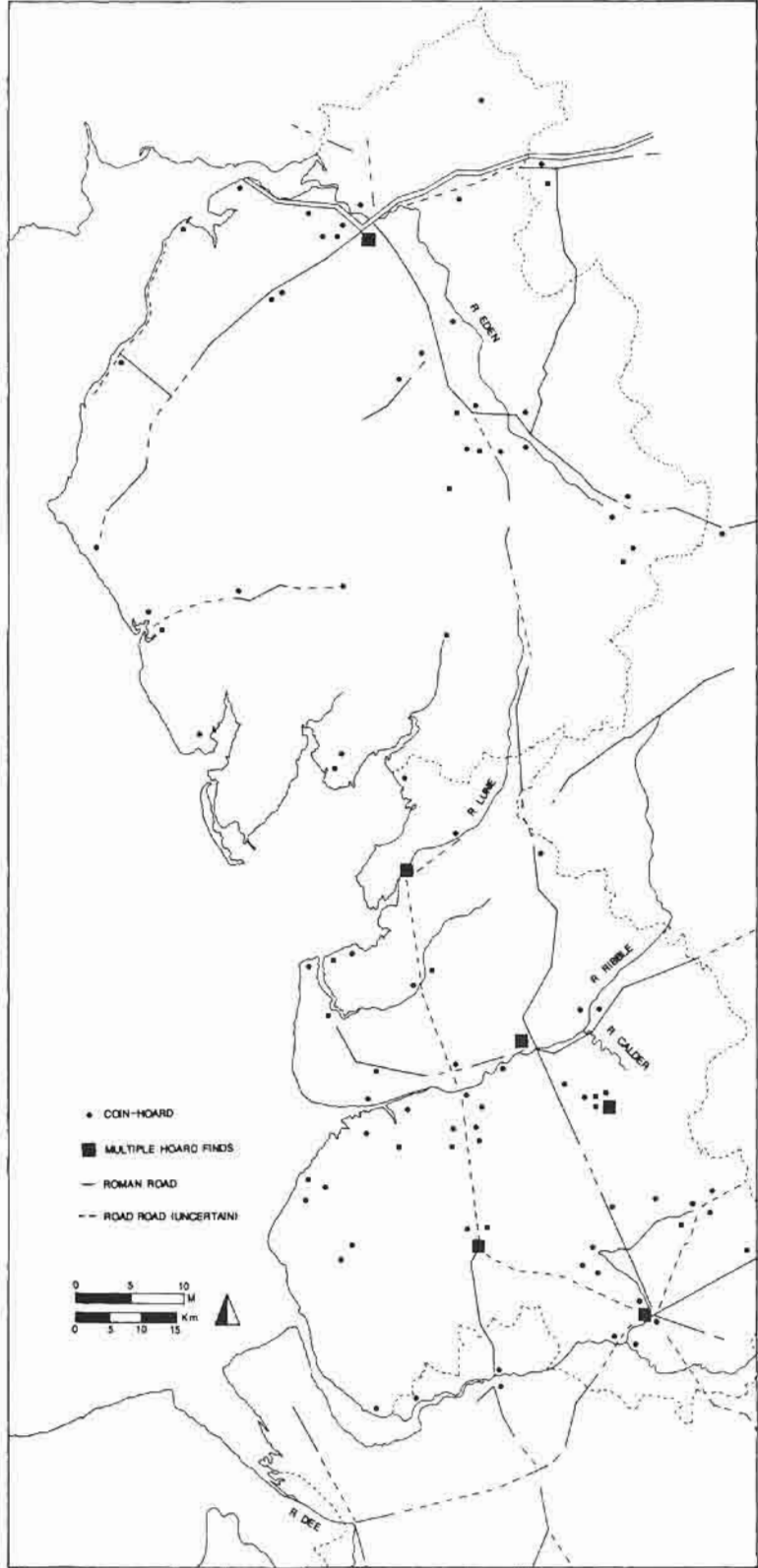


Fig. 6 North-west England: Find-spots of Roman Coin-hoards

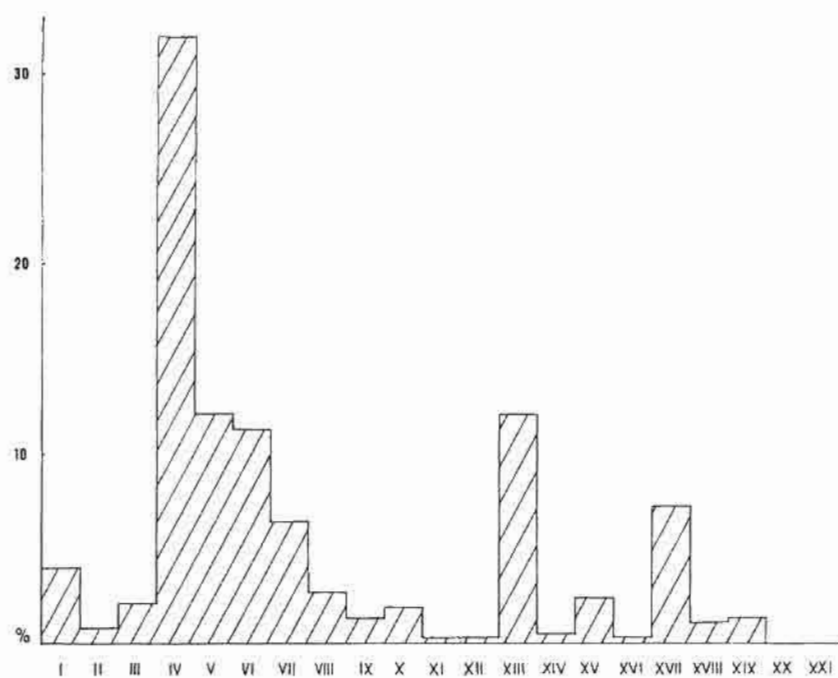


Fig. 7 Ribchester

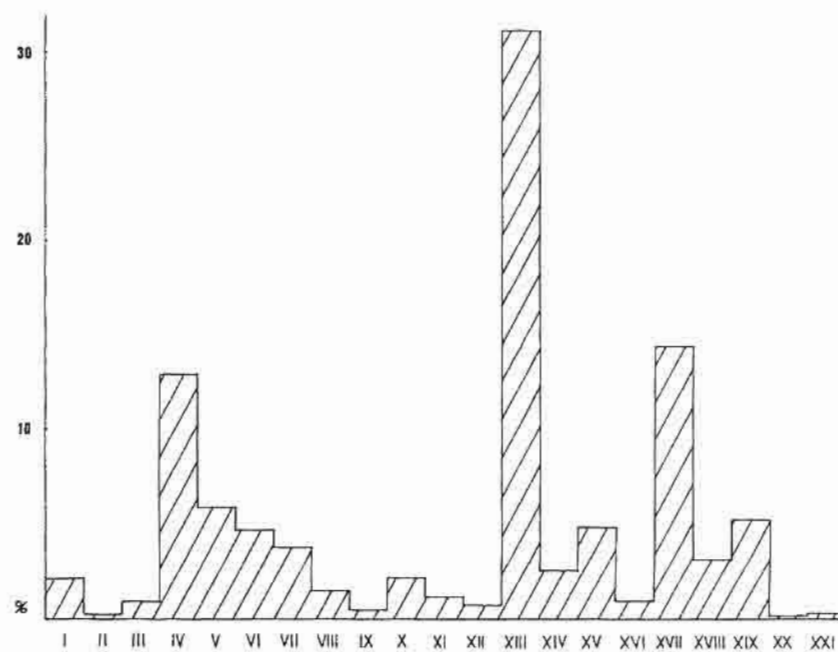


Fig. 8 Carlisle

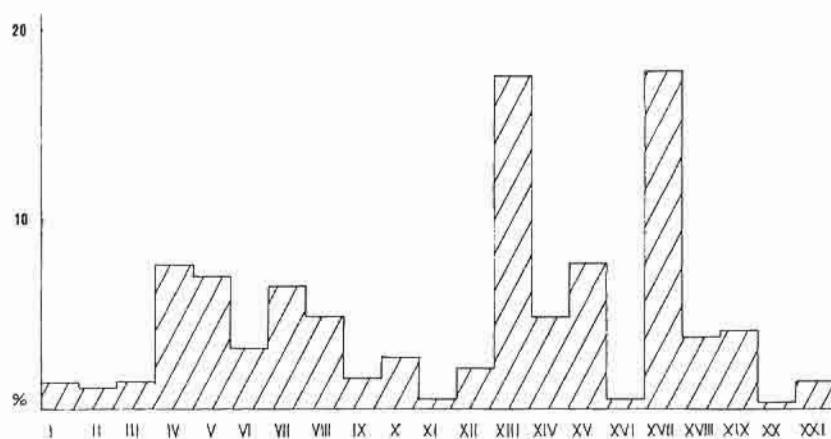


Fig. 9 Lancaster

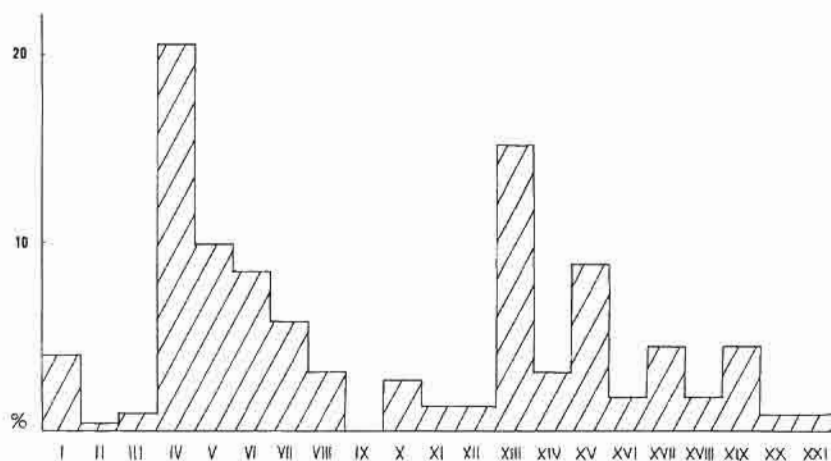


Fig. 10 Manchester

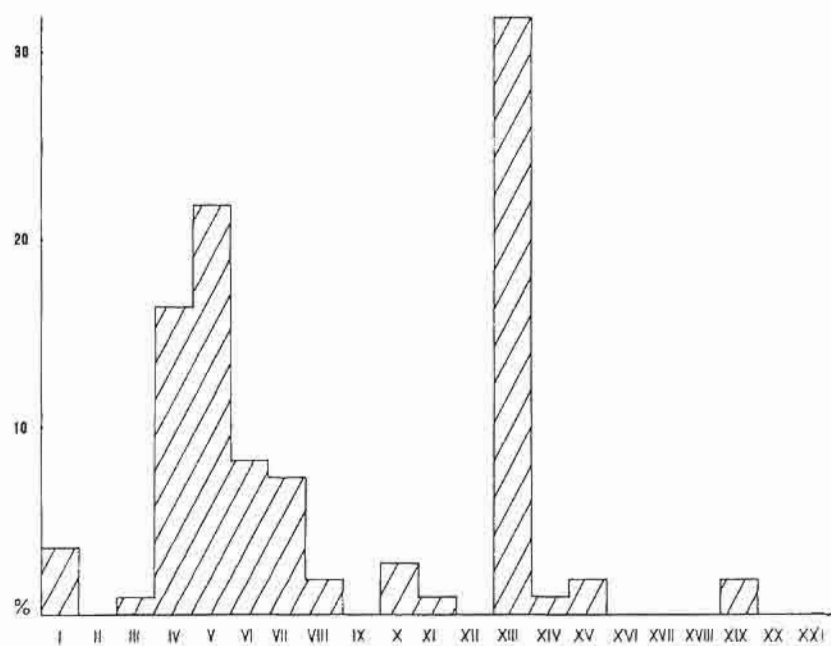


Fig. 11 Watercrouk

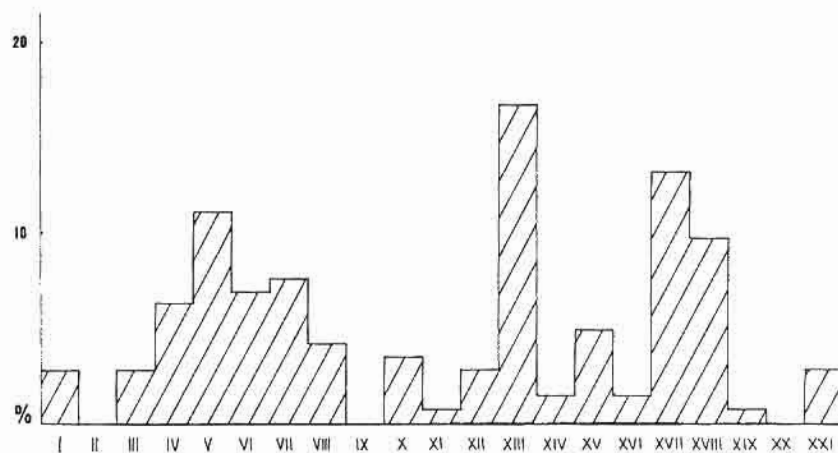


Fig. 12 Maryport

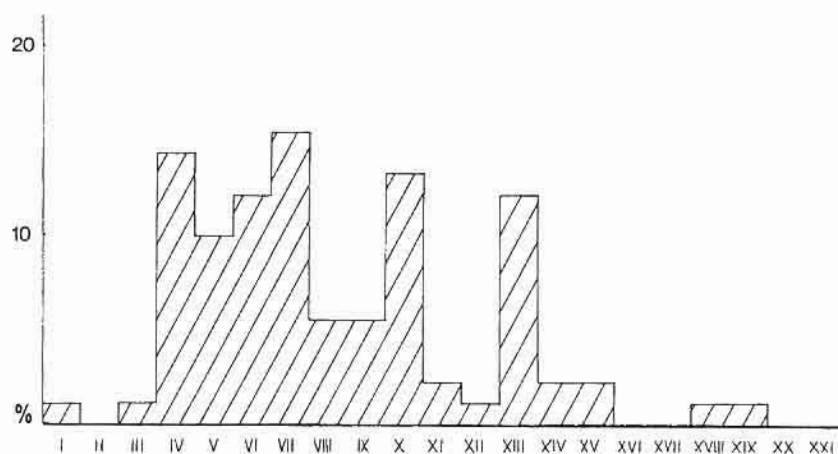


Fig. 13 Old Penrith

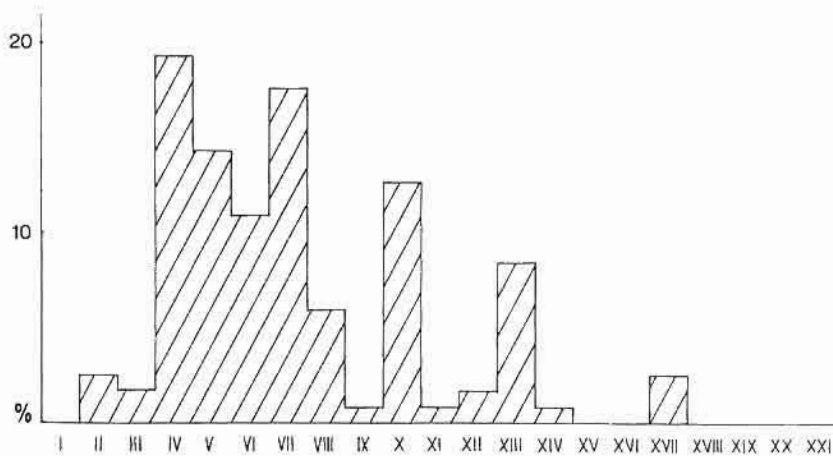


Fig. 14 Papcastle

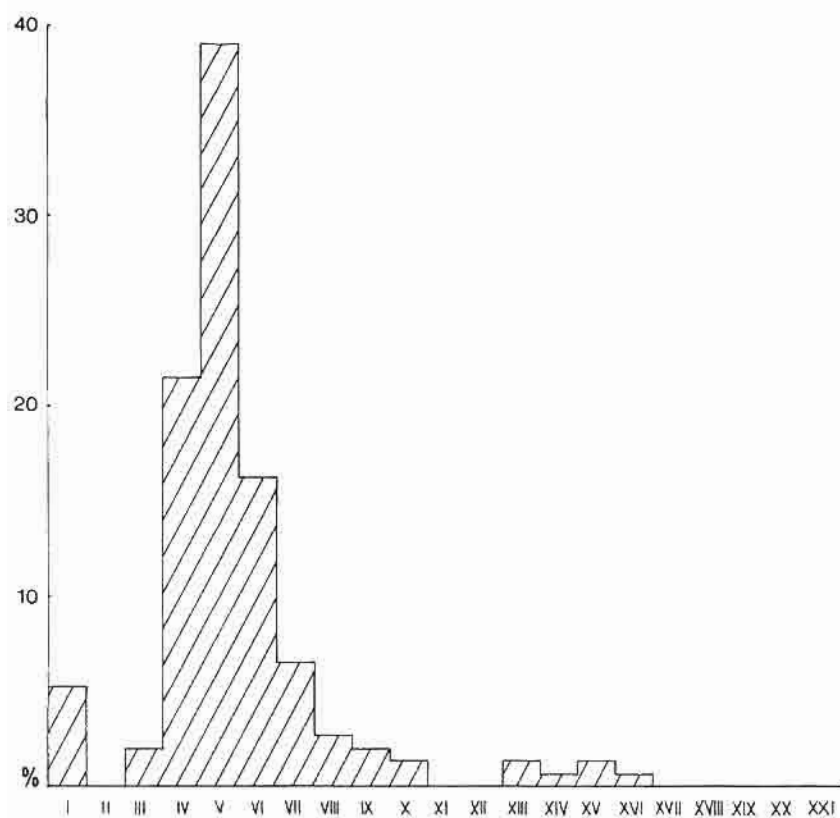


Fig. 15 Wilderspool

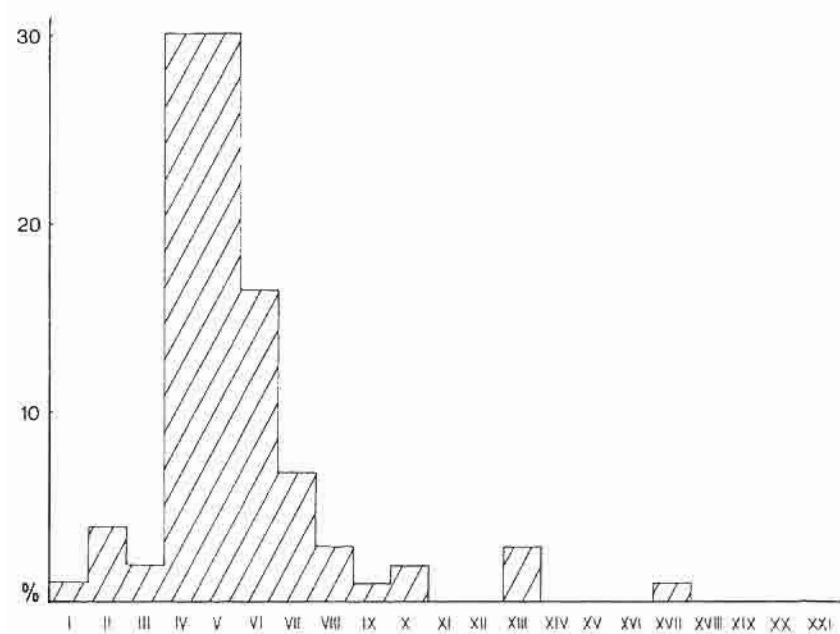


Fig. 16 Walton-le-Dale

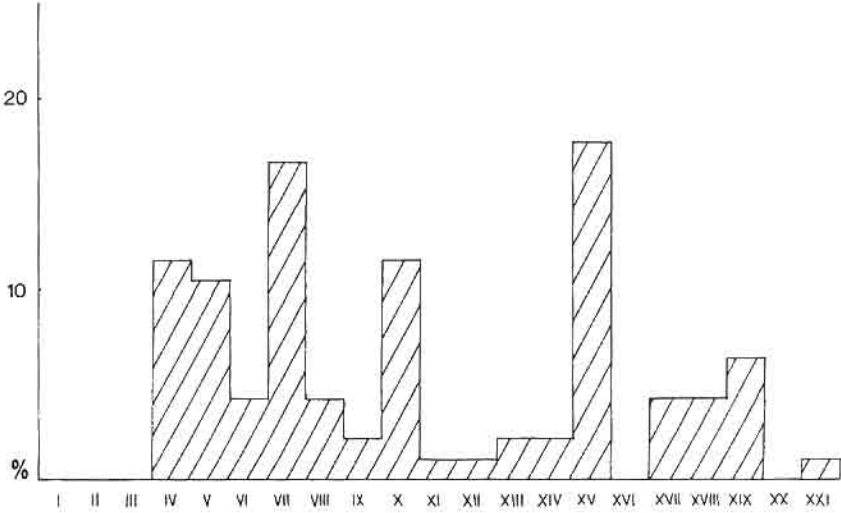


Fig. 17 Castlesteads

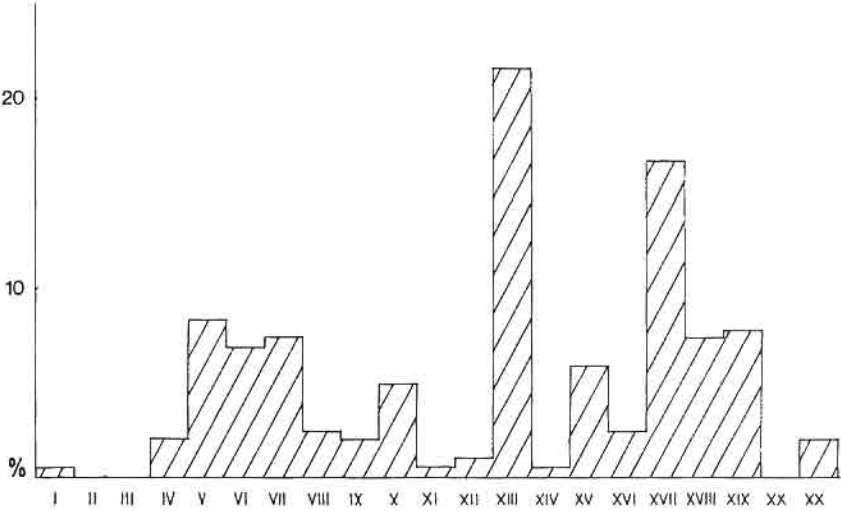


Fig. 18 Birdoswald

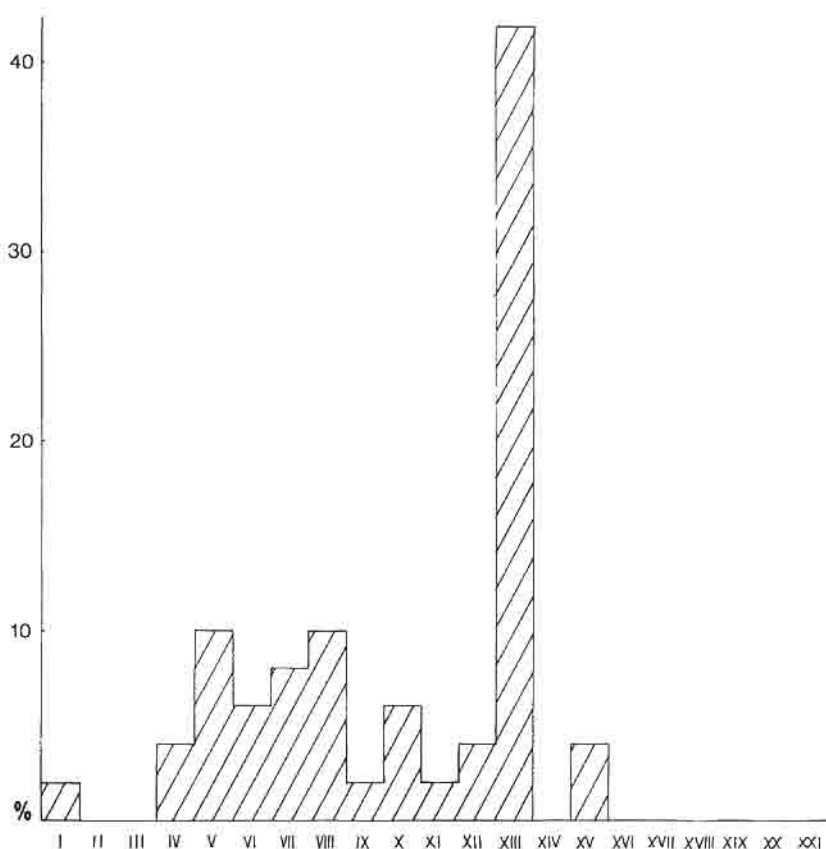


Fig. 19 Bewcastle

APPENDIX: SAMPLES OF IDENTIFIED COINS FROM ROMAN SITES IN NORTH-WEST ENGLAND

The following site-totals include only those coins which can be regarded as having derived from casual loss.

<i>Lancashire</i>		Blennerhasset	0	Low Borrow Bridge	4
Burrow-in-Lonsdale	27	Bowness-on-Solway	8	Maiden Castle-on-	
Castleshaw	21	Brampton	2	Stainmore	8
Kirkham	3	Brough-under-		Maryport	144 (fig. 12)
Lancaster	370 (fig. 9)	Stainmore	44	Moresby	5
Manchester	224 (fig. 10)	Brougham	1	Netherby	4
Ribchester	373 (fig. 7)	'Burgh I'	0	Nether Denton	89 (?)
Walton-le-Dale	107 (fig. 16)	Burgh-by-Sands	2	Old Carlisle	28
Wigan	11	Burrow Walls	0	Old Penrith	91 (fig. 13)
Wilderspool	154 (fig. 15)	Caermote	0	Papcastle	119 (fig. 14)
		Carlisle	2053 (fig. 8)	Ravenglass	38
<i>Cumbria</i>		Castlesteads	96 (fig. 17)	Stanwix	47
Ambleside	14	Drumburgh	3	Troutbeck	0
Beckfoot	9	Hardknott	7	Watercrock	110 (fig. 11)
Bewcastle	50 (fig. 19)	Kirkbride	2	Whitley Castle	1
Birdoswald	204 (fig. 18)	Kirkby Thore	37		

Periods used in the histograms:

I	- AD 41	VI	117-38	X	192-222	XIV	275-94	XVIII	346-64
II	41-54	VII	138-61	XI	222-35	XV	294-324	XIX	364-78
III	54-68	VIII	161-80	XII	235-59	XVI	324-30	XX	378-88
IV	68-96	IX	180-92	XIII	259-75	XVII	330-46	XXI	388-
V	96-117								

OF DIES, DESIGN CHANGES, AND SQUARE LETTERING IN THE OPENING PHASE OF THE SHORT CROSS COINAGE

JEFFREY P. MASS

IN 1915, L.A. Lawrence divided the Short Cross coinage (1180–1247) into eight classes along with a number of sub-classes.¹ As part of this effort, he called the coins that stood at the head of the series class Ia, and singled out the shape of two letters in the legends as the distinguishing feature of the new sub-type. As he observed, the two letters in question were E and C, and they appeared in a square shape on these early coins.² Though the original insight regarding square letters belonged to Evans,³ it was Lawrence who made this feature a diagnostic one. By so doing, he gave the Short Cross series a concrete beginning.

Before Lawrence, the classification system in use was the Evans scheme in which the coins with square letters were simply incorporated into class I. Though Evans credited these letters as being a possible link with the preceding coinage, his account remained imprecise, and his elaborations failed to elucidate the early chronology.⁴ Clearly, an awareness of Roman letters had now taken root, as demonstrated by Grueber's inventory of the Colchester Hoard, which sought to reproduce the letters in this form.⁵ But it was left to Lawrence to originate class Ia, the coins known ever after as the ones that initiated the Short Cross series.

Lawrence was responsible for other advances as well. For instance, he noted the absence of uniformity in the shapes of E and C in class Ia. As he put it: 'The C and E are sometimes square and sometimes round.'⁶ In other words, the square and round forms of the two letters on individual coins appeared in a generally unpatterned way. A natural inference, which led to an overly rigid definition, was that any coin that displayed even a single square letter warranted being classified as a Ia. More appropriately, it is the earliest coins in the series – the grouping, with a natural affinity, that actually came first – that should, by definition, be denominated Ia. Whether or not a square letter is a common feature of all of them is a proposition that we will wish to re-examine closely.

A yet further observation of Lawrence (once again borrowing from Evans) centred on the shape of the letter M. In Lawrence's own words: 'M is found in two forms, either M or m, perhaps more commonly the latter.'⁷ As we shall discover, the earliest sub-classes of Ia use the round m, whereas the later sub-classes exhibit the square form. In other words, unlike the E and C, which appear quite arbitrarily in their two forms, the two forms of the letter M are sequential.

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to Martin Allen and Lord Stewartby, both of whom read and commented on drafts of this paper. Others who have helped in my study of the coins themselves are (alphabetically) William Conte, Barrie Cook, Alan Dawson, Glenn Gittoes, Yvonne Harvey, Nicholas Mayhew, Jeffrey North, David Palmer, Mark Senior, Michael Sharp, Peter Woodhead, and Christopher Wren.

¹ L.A. Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage, 1180–1247', *BNJ* 11 (1915), 59–100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ John Evans, 'The Short Cross Question', *NC* 1865, 276.

⁴ In the mid-1870s, Evans became locked in a dispute with

Mr Kenyon over the point of transition between classes I and II. Apart from some pointed remarks about the moneyers AIMER and FIL AIMER (see notes 48 and 50 below), little of useful substance was added regarding the earliest coins, though the article itself is of some interest. See John Evans, 'Further Remarks on the Short Cross Question', *NC* 1875, 152–56.

⁵ H.A. Grueber, 'A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester', *NC* 1903, 110–76. In summarizing Evans's class I, Grueber did not seek to advance the definition. Thus he limited himself to the following: 'on the earlier pieces the Roman E for e. and □ for c are sometimes met with'. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁶ Lawrence, 'The Short Cross Coinage', p. 77.

⁷ Lawrence, p. 77.

Continuing his description, Lawrence noted 'the outer circle with dots at intervals' that appeared on some coins, though on this subject he was less explicit (and therefore satisfying) than Evans. In characterizing the coins that exhibited this particular feature, Evans suggested that they 'appear to be the earliest.'⁸ It is a conclusion that we can affirm now as entirely correct.

In his final observation, Lawrence noted that the letter 'X varies from a plain cross to the form with serifs.' This last point was undoubtedly his least helpful, since he confused the chronology by adding that 'the X still varies' in class Ib.⁹ It was not until many years later that Brand and Elmore Jones gave us class Ia*, bestowing the coins with seriffed Xs with a separate identity, and placing them in between Ia and Ib.¹⁰ In the current study, I will undertake to situate these coins fully within the sequence of class Ia.

Despite the problems as enumerated, the insights bequeathed by Evans and Lawrence form the basis of the paper that follows. We will be concerned, necessarily, with square letters and seriffed Xs. Nevertheless, the number of specimens we have to work with is much greater than in Lawrence's day, permitting the construction of a new chronology and sequence of sub-types, as well as a new conception of the series' opening phase. What I will seek to propose is an enlargement of our definition, which takes into account a number of stylistic features, and then joins them to the pattern of mint openings. As we shall discover, it was only when the six original mints were expanded to ten in the autumn of 1180 that the coinage became regularized and an evolution of types, making up the whole of Ia, became frozen into the less mobile class known as Ib.

The current study of class Ia was begun as a collaborative project with Martin Allen who deserves equal credit in two important areas: in evolving the sequence of sub-classifications (in particular, classes Ia1–Ia3), and in the die study that accompanies the section below on the individual mints. Mr Allen has also contributed an essay to these pages (see pp. 53–58) in which he seeks to reconstruct a chronology of the events of 1180.

I. Some background and some basic information

Before proceeding to a treatment of the new Ia sequence, we should recall that the Short Cross coinage did not appear as part of the package of innovations that accompanied a new reign; Henry II had been king since 1154. Dissatisfaction with the quality of the existing Cross and Crosslets coinage (the 'Tealbys') was combined with a desire on the part of the king to reorganize the coinage so as to enhance both his income and his control.

Starting afresh obviously meant a number of things. It meant not merely introducing a new design for the coinage, but reviewing mints and moneys not to mention procedures. The object of the exercise was to streamline the production of the king's money, which meant rationalizing the number of mints and adding to the controls over production and exchange.¹¹ As a consequence, a total of five mints were authorized to receive dies, and the new coinage commenced activity in mid-1180. The original Short Cross mints were London, Exeter, Northampton, Winchester, and York, but Wilton was added almost immediately as the result of a severe fire at Winchester.¹² In a sense, we are therefore justified in speaking of six original mints since Wilton was not closed when Winchester reopened, and since six mints (rather than five) produced coins that displayed the earliest style of obverses.

⁸ Evans, 'The Short Cross Question', p. 263.

⁹ Lawrence, p. 77.

¹⁰ John D. Brand and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton in 1180', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 119.

¹¹ Several numismatic studies have now dealt with this subject, beginning with D.F. Allen's masterful treatise on the Tealby coinage (1951), and including John Brand's M.A.

thesis (1981), now published, and Nicholas Mayhew's recent contribution to *A New History of the Royal Mint*. Martin Allen is continuing to pursue this important subject.

¹² See Brand and Elmore Jones, pp. 116–17. I do not accept the revised chronology now proposed by Martin Allen (pp. 53–55). See note 41 below for an elaboration of my views.

Viewed from the other end, all six mints produced coins at the terminus of the Ia sequence, which runs through a progression of five styles. In other words, class Ia will be divided here into five sub-types, which I propose to designate Ia1–Ia5. The first three phases embrace the whole of Lawrence's class Ia; the fourth is drawn from the Brand-Elmore Jones Ia*; and the fifth is from what Brand called 'early Ib'. By contrast, none of the four new mints of class Ib (Carlisle, Lincoln, Oxford, and Worcester) produced coins in any of these five Ia styles, an observation that yields the main theme of this paper. As we shall see, the division between Ia and Ib is a function of the difference between six mints and ten, and between a style that was fluid and one that was fixed. As I will argue, square Es constitute only one part of that story.

Moving from mints to a survey of moneyers, a total of 39 men produced coins in class Ia. The number seems a large one in two senses. Firstly, it represents a clear majority of the names we encounter for the entire decade; some 68–70 moneyers have been identified for the whole of class I (see note 62). That means that most of the men responsible for producing Henry II's new coinage were present from that coinage's very beginnings. Secondly, the figure of 39 moneyers needs to be measured against the notion of 'rarity' for the sub-class itself. The coins of Ia are rare because of the extreme brevity of their period of production, and because the largest Short Cross hoards (Eccles and Colchester) were deposited more than a half century after the series commenced. By contrast, the output of the coinage gives every indication of having been substantial at the time.

II. The sequence of types

Any description of a sequence of types within the context of an 'unchanging' design is both an invention and an expedient of modern scholars. Thus in trying to identify a beginning, specialists must seek to reconstruct mostly from back to front: the style that is earliest becomes apparent only when it is compared with something that came later.¹³ For the pioneering die makers of the era, the exercise was entirely different. Not only did they bear the burden of a past legacy, but they began with little more than a basic conception for the new coinage and then had to evolve a consensus on details. In such a context, it is small wonder that their progress was anything but direct. Put differently, the range of possibilities led to inevitable experimentation, which yielded the various emendations that form the basis of our sequence of five sub-types.

1. Type Ia1

Befitting their status at the very head of the new series the earliest coins exhibit the greatest variety of all. They also seem the most 'primitive' as a group. Indeed, the coins of Ia1 display such a host of inconsistent features that our lumping them into a sub-class might reasonably be questioned. As it happens, however, the dies in this group all display the dot-dash outer circle, which Lawrence, building on Evans, noted as occurring 'often' in class Ia.

As regards this feature, we can assume that it was conceived not for aesthetic purposes, but rather to prevent clipping of the coins themselves. Yet unless a coin was perfectly centred in its striking, the dot-dash circle would be no more than partially visible, its purpose, as a consequence, potentially neutralized. Moreover, the portion of the circle present might have been far from the coin's edge, producing a possible reminder of the poorly struck previous

¹³ Efforts to make connections forward, i.e., from Tealby to Short Cross, have been disappointing. For one tentative effort, see Jeffrey P. Mass, 'A Link between Tealby and Short Cross?', *NCirc*, November 1993, 316.

coinage. At variance then with what for us is a fascinating visual feature of these coins, the dot-dash outer circle evidently fell into disfavour and was dropped. Nevertheless, the feature itself is the common denominator for class Ia1, appearing on both obverse and reverse dies (nos 1–4, etc.).¹⁴

Unfortunately, its detection on actual specimens is sometimes difficult, with no more than two or three dots frequently visible. Moreover, on numerous coins the feature is on only one of the two dies, with the other exhibiting a multi-dot outer circle. I mention this point now in order to introduce a potentially controversial issue: the validity of conceiving of such juxtapositions as expressions of the phenomenon known as 'muling.' In the case of a rapidly evolving sequence of sub-types, such as we have here, the frequency of 'muling', as so defined, would be unsurprising. Obviously, a sub-class of such brief duration would yield the maximum range of possibilities in the combining of dies.

Nevertheless, the appropriateness of applying a concept more normally used between major classes may reasonably be questioned. I have elected to use it as much out of necessity as out of conviction. In practice, since dies were not regularly issued in simple pairs, how else are we to convey a sense of schematic progress? The combining of classification designations is the most effective way.

a. Ia1 Obverses

Commanding our attention first are the portrait and the crown, which reveal a sequence of rapidly changing styles. The earliest, known from London, Northampton, and Winchester, exhibit a crown in the shape of a cross pattée, rather than as a configuration of pellets, the standard thereafter.¹⁵ In existence only momentarily, the pattée design indicates graphically the trial and error mentality (nos 21, 56, 110). But does it also tell us something about the pattern of mint openings – possibly three at the outset, rather than the proposed six? The answer to this question lies with other stylistic features, which, as we discover, were equally part of this opening phase.

As it happens, the coins with the cross pattée crown have a rounded collar at the base of the bust along with two folds of drapery on the right side facing. These features are on all the cross pattée dies, but they are also, slightly adjusted, on the first pellet dies at Exeter and Wilton. Thus on the Exeter we see a double drapery but the bottom of the collar no longer separate from the coin's inner circle, whereas on the Wilton we encounter a separate collar though now with a single drapery (nos 1, 32). In short, the crown, the drapery, and the collar were all part of the earliest experimentation with the design for the obverse, which involved dies clearly sent to more than just three mints.¹⁶ It is a point that can be demonstrated in a different way by looking at a specific moneyer and sequence of dies.

The moneyer IOHAN of London is one of the few known to have issued coins bearing the cross pattée crown. But he also issued a pellet ('pommée' crown) coin that exhibits the double drapery and the separate collar, thereby linking it to the very earliest Short Cross issues (no. 111; see also no. 9). In other words, three features, not just one, are diagnostic for the opening dies in class Ia1. Moreover, the collar almost immediately started to merge with the inner

¹⁴ The reference here is to coins in the Plates, designated by their number. Also, throughout this paper I will designate square Es, square Cs round Ms, and seriffed Xs by underlining them.

¹⁵ There are now four such obverses on coins of the following moneyers: IOHAN of London, WALTER of Northampton, OSBERN of Winchester, and RODBERD of Winchester. I have had access to only three of the total

here: Mr Gittoes has informed me of the fourth (the OSBERN), which I have been unable to see. I have also been unable to obtain the readings of the legends for this coin.

¹⁶ That is, to five of the six Ia1 mints. Only York is at present missing though it seems possible that coins of the earliest style may yet turn up. At the time of writing, only three Ia1 obverses are known from York, all slightly later.

circle, whilst the double drapery became single (nos 74, 94, 118) and then disappeared entirely (nos 3–4, 15, 25, 31, etc.). All of these changes occurred during the brief lifespan of class Ia1.

As for the portrait itself, the most that can be said is that it has its own odd look on these earliest dies. The head is small with very thin side curls of an inconsistent, sometimes indeterminate, number, though the total to the right is always greater than that to the left.¹⁷ On a few dies the king's sceptre is short and at a low angle, resulting in a start of the legend earlier than what soon became the standard (nos 20, 32, 105).

There is a particular coin that must be cited in any discussion of the very earliest dies. This is a coin of RODBERD of Winchester that looks like no other in this sequence. Though it is best examined in the context of an analysis of lettering and punctuation, the fact of its unique appearance is the best proof of the absence of fixity at the start. This coin, which Lawrence himself once owned, displays the crown (as well as the sceptre-head) in the style of the cross pattée (no. 56). Since Lawrence did not mention it, one must assume that he obtained it after having published his initial remarks on class Ia.¹⁸

On the subject of lettering and punctuation, the letters we must be concerned with (obverse and reverse) exceed the standard E, C, and M; N, X, O, S, and W will also require comment. Nevertheless, since the legend on the obverse became fixed immediately and then never changed (HENRICVS R/EX), we might begin with its key letters, which are E, C, N, and X. The distinctive features are as follows on the dies of class Ia1:

1. At least one of the two Es is squared, with the C either squared or unsquared. In a survey of 31 Ia1 obverse dies, the first E was squared 23 times, the second E was squared 29 times, and the C was squared ten times. On no obverse were the Es round with the C squared, and on seven dies all three letters were squared. On five (or six) dies only one letter (an E) was squared. Though there is no discernible pattern earlier or later in the sub-class, the most likely letter to be squared was clearly the E in the word REX.¹⁹

2. In our sample of 31 dies, some 23 have the two words in the legend separated by a pellet stop; on one (the above-cited RODBERD) there is a colon stop; and on seven there is no stop whatever. The absence of a stop appears on only a few dies from later in the Ia sequence, though the feature reappears with some frequency in class Ib, and then becomes the norm (albeit not invariable) in class Ic.

3. In our sample of 31 dies, the E is to the right side of the sceptre in 22 cases, thus appearing as RE/X. By and large, the earliest obverses were designed this way, though the pattern was not rigidly adhered to. As we shall see, a few obverses in class Ia2 have it RE/X, though the trajectory was in quite the other direction, with the feature then disappearing for the remainder of class I. On only a single die reading RE/X (in both Ia1 and Ia2) was the E in the round form rather than the square (no. 117).

The other two letters of importance on Ia1 obverses are the N and the X. With but a single known exception (no. 75), the second upright of the N lacks a serif at its base. That is, the N contains three serifs, rather than four, a feature that continues through class Ia2, but then disappears.²⁰ I will have much more to say on the subject of the three-serifred N.

With the exception of a single obverse, the letter X is made up of two unadorned arms. That is, the X lacks serifs entirely except on a single recently-published coin. On that specimen, of

¹⁷ As Evans observed as long ago as 1865, the coins were thereby given the appearance of 'being three-quarter faced'. See 'The Short Cross Question', p. 263. Yet this is not our impression from an examination of the portraits themselves; see my description below for class Ia2.

¹⁸ This coin was part of Lot 1002 in the Lawrence Sale of November 1951.

¹⁹ I have not thought it necessary to provide lists of coins

showing these and all other patterns. Similarly, I have not felt it essential to cite all or even illustrative photographs for every point made in this paper (see, for instance, the next paragraph). The inventory of dies for the separate mints will contain most of this information anyway.

²⁰ The original insight here belongs to Martin Allen, as introduced in a short paper he delivered to the BNS in March 1983.

WILLELM of London, the X is reminiscent of the Tealby X with four fully formed serifs (no. 129).²¹ Finally, on the coin of RODBERD, cited above, the letter X is not present at all; the reading is thus HENRICVS:RE/.

b. Ia1 Reverses

As already noted, the distinguishing feature of class Ia1 is the dot-dash outer circle on the obverse and reverse. There are no other particular design features that characterize the reverses of these coins. As a consequence, we need only look at the lettering.

The absence of uniformity in the shape of the E and C on obverse dies is duplicated on the reverses. But whereas obverses necessarily contain both of these letters, the same is not true for all reverses. The range is from 0 to 4 appearances of the letter E and from 0 to 2 appearances of the letter C. As the number of such letters increases, it becomes less and less likely that all will be squared. At the same time, there is little discernible pattern in the shapes of these letters earlier in the sub-class as opposed to later. Perhaps the RODBERD, for once, is typical, with the legend reading RODBERD ON.W//EE, in which two of the three letters in question are square, even as the C has been replaced by an E. Such substitutions (in both directions) occurred occasionally (nos 4, 75, 117), and this was a phenomenon that continued past class Ia.

More interesting is our seeming quandary when the reverse legend contains no Es or Cs, or contains such a letter and it is round! Lawrence simply ignored a situation he must have encountered, though the convention, in recent years, has been to classify the round-lettered coins as 'mules' – thus Ia/Ib. In fact, however, we are able to be much more precise than that, since there are other clues that allow us to identify a Ia reverse. First, the letter M (where it appears) is round on every known die in classes Ia1 and Ia2, allowing us, for example, to attribute a reverse such as the following to (in this case) Ia2: RAVL.ON.NORAM (no. 17). And second, the letter N, without exception, displays three serifs, not four.

It is here, on these early reverses, that the implications of the three-serifed N now become fully clear. For unlike the E and C, the N, since it appears in the word ON, is present on every die and therefore on every full coin. In addition, it appears in the signatures for London, Northampton, and Winchester, which were the three most prolific of the Ia mints. As a result, we are able to classify coins with otherwise problematic legends, e.g., those that contain no Es or Cs (thus IOHAN.ON.LVND or RANDVL.ON.LVN, both of class Ia1 [nos 111, 120]), or those that contain Es that are *round* (thus OSBER.ON.WILT and REINALD.ON.LVN, in this case, both of class Ia2 [nos 29, 127]). Especially in Ia2, where we lack the dot-dash outer circle, the significance of the universal N transcends the presence or absence of the letters E and C.

Only a few comments will be required concerning the forms of several other letters that appear on Ia1 (or Ia2) reverses:

1. The S, reminiscent of Tealby, is occasionally pushed over on its side (no. 111).
2. The O is squeezed partially flat on a few dies and is also very small (nos 111, 117).
3. The W, on a single die, has been replaced by the older letter *wen*, which looks superficially like a P. On this coin, the mint signature for York thus comes to read EVRP. To my knowledge, it is the final appearance of the *wen*, which was already embattled under Tealby (no. 62).²²

Before leaving class Ia1, it will be instructive to come back to the letters E and C, though

²¹ See Mass, *NCirc* (1993). The coin itself has the following readings: H//RICVS.RE/X (obv.); WILLEL//ON.LVND_E (rev.).

²² See D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the*

British Museum, xxxvi–xl. This coin, from the Corne Hoard, was originally owned by Brand. The *wen* on its reverse was brought to my attention by Mr Gittoes.

not to the square forms of those letters, but rather to their round configurations. In fact, these are more interesting than square letters, for a reason that is actually quite striking: the die engravers of that age were less (rather than more) experienced with the round forms of those letters. Under Tealby, the round E and C were standard for a while in class C, and the round E, but not the C, was used occasionally in classes E and F. Otherwise the square E and C were in universal usage.²³

In class Ia1, the round forms of these letters display a considerable variation: 1. letters with the closing curved, vertical bar (no. 105); 2. letters closed by small serifs rather than by the top-to-bottom bar (no. 117); 3. Es and Cs that were identical owing to the absence (or the presence) of the Es (or Cs) horizontal middle bar (nos 4, 75, 117); and 4. letters of varying degrees of roundness including a few that were nearly full circles (no. 121).

The subjects of die sharing among moneyers, and of variations in the spelling of their names, will be treated below in the section on mints and moneyers.

2. *Type Ia2*

As we already know, the disappearance of the dot-dash outer circle marks the transition from Ia1 to Ia2. Yet the point bears repeating that we are not to assume mutually exclusive phases, the proof for which lies in the overlapping of design features and in the frequency of 'muling'. As it happens, there are in excess of a dozen combinations, which, following our criteria, would have to be called Ia1/Ia2 'mules'. Though this is not the place to speculate on the lifespan of dies, there is no question that obverses survived reverses, as indicated by the direction of these 'mules': there is but a single recorded example of a Ia2/Ia1 (no. 35). At any rate, in discussing Ia2, we need always to be aware of what we already know about Ia1.

Much that appeared to be in rapid flux in Ia1 seemed to be 'settling down' as the coinage reached the 'middle' of Ia2. Though the number of obverses is virtually the same in the two sub-classes, there is a sense about Ia2 that it epitomizes a kind of standard for the whole type. Yet as we shall see, the pace of change, if indeed it had slowed, represented no more than a temporary hiatus.

a. Ia2 Obverses

Looking first at the design contained within the inner circle, the portraits of Ia2 are unmistakably less primitive than those we encountered in Ia1. The crown of pearls was now standard as was the collar growing out from the inner circle; no extra drapery appears. The curls on both sides continue to vary in both number and fineness, though this feature, it should be said, is a characteristic of class Ia as a whole. On almost all dies the smallish visage of a sober-looking king stares out from behind tiny eyes and is focused straight ahead. Though we almost feel we are making eye contact, the portraits themselves cannot be recognized as that of one man. Nevertheless, only a few of these portraits might be confused with those of Ia1 (nos 77, 107).

Seemingly early in Ia2, the location of the legend moved by one letter to the right. That is, the RE/X of only three known Ia2 dies (nos 96, 116, 122) becomes the R/EX of 29 others. The base of the sceptre is more consistently near the base of the portrait, with the result that its angle tended to be sharper with the king's name starting closer to the top of the coin. However, the variations we saw earlier with regard to square and round letters continue unabated. Thus five of the total of 32 dies have all three obverse letters squared, whereas at least 22 others have two letters in that form. The C, as in Ia1, is never square by itself, and

²³ Allen, pp. xxxviii–xxxix, clxxxv.

indeed the C overall is the least likely to be square (13 dies). The most likely square letter is the E of REX, and indeed I know of no dies in which that was not the case.

As noted earlier, the letter N on Ia2 obverses always has three serifs rather than four.

On the subject of punctuation, there is but a single die lacking the stop (no. 122), whereas another has two stops, following each of the two words (no. 116). However, the explanation in the second case is the inadvertent omission of a letter in the legend (thus *HERICVS.RE/X.*). Interestingly, there are no recorded misspellings of the king's name in class Ia1.

b. Ia2 Reverses

As we noted earlier, all six mints were active from the very start of the new coinage, at least as defined by the presence of Ia1 features. An anomaly seems to emerge, however, in class Ia2: until recently, no dies, obverse or reverse, existed for the mint of Exeter, a condition that actually continued until near the end of class Ia4. Now, finally, we have a single reverse (no. 5),²⁴ though much of the mystery surrounding Exeter continues (see below). At any rate, a total of at least 24 moneyers produced coins during the Ia2 phase. This compares with 19 moneyers who used reverse dies attributable to class Ia1.

The legends themselves are notable for features we have now come to expect. Whilst all the Ns have three serifs,²⁵ the pattern of square and round letters lacks any consistency whatever. Though square Es and Cs were decidedly favoured, there are frequent examples where the round forms were used, e.g., for a reverse die of CLEMENT. On this interesting die the reading is *CLEMENT.ON.WIN*, in which the second of the two Es was round (no. 44). Of course in this instance we have a bounty of key letters, with an M that is round along with a square E and C. Yet the absence of consistency is the more interesting point.

Counter-balancing that condition is the shape and style of other letters. For example, the letter M is always round, just as it was in class Ia1.²⁶ The X is never seriffed, the O becomes less flattened, the S is more upright, and the round E and C are less variable. Though the spelling of the moneyers' names might still vary, the number of persons affected was now diminishing. And thus except for the arbitrary Es and Cs, the lettering seemed to be becoming more predictable.²⁷

3. Type Ia3

As already noted, any impression of a condition of stasis proved only momentary, and we encounter changes in Ia3 involving four letters. As we shall see, class Ia3 is the final sub-class that displays square letters, which would make it the final phase of Ia under the Lawrence formulation. But such a termination of the class would run contrary to what the coins tell us. The evolution of early style had not yet run its course.

²⁴ This coin, now in the BM, is from the recent Canwell Hoard. It was brought to my attention initially by Chris Wren.

²⁵ A single reverse die of CLEMENT of Winchester has a final N with four serifs; its reverse legend also begins, unusually, at 1:30 (no. 45). A late-starting legend also appears on a coin of Ia5 of WILLELM of London.

²⁶ The universality of this feature has facilitated the identification of a hitherto indecipherable coin. On a worn Ia2 of the York mint (from the Lawrence Sale, Lot 391), only a final upright in the moneyer's name can be seen (no. 66). Thus

the coin is either of WILLELM or of HVNFREI, who happen to be the only eligible candidates. Since the M, if it were WILLELM, would almost certainly be round, I have felt confident in giving the coin to HVNFREI.

²⁷ A coin of HENRI of London (no. 96) has had its reverse legend partially retooled in the region of the word ON. According to Brand, the retooling was done by the engraver, shortening the name HENRICVS, done in error, to HENRI; see John Brand, 'Short Cross Coins in the Birmingham City Museum', privately printed (1966), p. i.

a. Ia3 Obverses

To summarize the diagnostic features of class Ia3, the N, for the first time, gains a fourth serif; the C is always round; the round E and C take on a newly configured closing bar; and the M, at least sometimes, becomes square. Clearly, the features embracing change all have to do with the lettering, leaving us to say very little about the character of the portrait. On the three recorded obverses of class Ia3, the portrait is directly facing, the curls are numerous and wiry, the crown of pearls is pronounced, and the image is of good workmanship (nos 24, 54, 101). The style is basically a continuation of that exhibited in class Ia2.

By contrast, the lettering represents innovation of the most dramatic kind. The N at the top of each obverse is now suddenly outfitted with four serifs, and on one of the three known dies has its cross bar with the right side higher. As we shall see, this 'reverse-barred N' is a feature of some importance in class Ia4, the new name that we will be giving to the old Ia*.

As for the letter C, these are now round on the three recorded obverses, a feature we will find duplicated on the much larger number of reverses. In short, the square C, like the three-serifed N, is a feature exclusively of Ia1 and Ia2.

When we turn to the letter E, one die has both of these square. However, the other two have only one E square, which happens to be a different one for each. In short, on the three surviving obverses we find all three possibilities – proof, if more were needed, that inconsistency remained.

The round form of the C (and also of the E) attracts our attention immediately. For not only was 'roundness' increasing in usage, but it was also appearing in a wholly new design. On two of our three obverses the vertical closing bar had acquired a new shape, now in the form of half-melons or half-moons, with the one atop the other. It is a feature that anticipates a more mature phase when the 'double-half-moon' E and C become a fixture of class Ia4.

Significantly, the three known obverses appear on coins of three different mints – London, Northampton, and Winchester. Though we must await newly discovered dies, the known dies were at least widely distributed. But, in fact, as we shall see, class Ia3 is best known for its reverses, an imbalance that will raise for us serious questions. For the moment, it is enough to place on the record that only one of the obverses is combined with an unambiguous Ia3 reverse; one of the others is part of a 'mule' (Ia3/Ia2), and perhaps the other is also (thus Ia3/Ia4?).²⁸

b. Ia3 Reverses

The survival of at least 17 Ia3 reverse dies suggests that we are now truly in a new phase. The Ns, of course, all have four serifs, and the Cs are all round. Moreover, the universality of the new 'double-half-moon' form for round letters allows us to attest to its usage for virtually every E that is *not* square. In other words, if one E is square and the other is round, the round letter will appear in the new 'double-half-moon' form (nos 65, 79, 98). Moreover, the new form is as important as the old square form with which, as it happens, it shares an equally long lifetime – a total in each case of three sub-classes (Ia3–Ia5 and Ia1–Ia3). Once again, therefore, there is more to class Ia than simply square letters.

On the other hand, the classification system becomes more difficult beginning with class Ia3. Once we begin losing square letters (and round Ms), we have problems, in particular, with the reverses. These are now harder to distinguish from one another, and they also raise other questions as well.

²⁸ The coins are as follows: Ia3/Ia2, HENRI.PI.ON.LVN; (or Ia3/Ia3), WALTIERO.VZOR (with no stops). Ia3/Ia2, HENRI.PI.ON.LVN.; Ia3, OSBER.ON.WINC; and Ia3/Ia4

We need to examine the key letters on class Ia3 reverses, beginning, if we might, with the letter M. Appearing on a total of ten dies, it is round on six (nos 27, 28, 49, 78, 131) and square on four (nos 50, 73, 79, 86), though, unfortunately, the point of the break is not fully clear. For example, only two of the six dies with round Ms are 'muled' with earlier obverses (with Ia2; nos 78, 131, 132), whereas the other four are 'muled' with obverses of Ia4 and Ia5 (nos 27, 28, 49).²⁹ In other words, round Ms seem to continue beyond the appearance of square Ms. As for the Ms that are square, they, by definition, are on reverses that contain a square E – it is the square form of the E that distinguishes the dies as being of class Ia3. However, the 'mules' on which the square Ms appear all involve die combinations that look to the future. That is, they are on coins with obverses of Ia4 and Ia5.

We have already treated the Cs – they are all of the 'double-half-moon' variety. This in fact distinguishes them from the E, some of which obviously remain squared. By the same token, however, the Es that are still square are now paralleled by those that are round. A point of numerical parity between the two has thus been reached only now (14 to 13). Or, to make the same point differently, only three reverses among the total have more than a single square E (nos 65, 67, 73).

On the subject of the imbalance between obverses and reverses, we are left with a quandary that is not easily resolved. Certainly reverses wore out first, which meant that more would have been required. But these reverses should have been combined with still usable obverses – either from Ia2 or from Ia3. Yet a greater number of the die combinations are 'mules' with obverses that are later, raising the possibility that somehow we have misinterpreted things.

4. Type Ia4

This new designation for what has previously been called Ia* is an attempt to convey the theme of continuity represented by the coins themselves. The coins in this phase are part of the larger complex of class Ia, and are in no sense 'transitional' much less belonging to class Ib. Moreover, since they are followed by what I will be representing as class Ia5, the persuasiveness of their current labelling as Ia* is yet further reduced. As we shall see, the Ia4 phase of the sequence is characterized by a mix of continuities and innovations.

a. Ia4 Obverses

The diagnostic feature of Ia4 obverses is the presence of an X with four full serifs. A feature that was universal in the Tealby series, it is not in evidence in Short Cross until now (see note 21 for the single exception). Of course it is a contrivance of scholars to think of Es, Cs, and Ms now becoming 'normal' just at the moment that the X becomes 'abnormal'. Obviously, the engraver was simply continuing to experiment with the lettering, in hopes of achieving a broad consensus on style. Nevertheless, the point must be affirmed that there is no known die in this phase that exhibits *both* an E that is square and an X that is seriffed.

Fine-tuning was very much the order of the day. For instance, the way the X was seriffed varied considerably, as we can see from a random sampling of the coins themselves. Sometimes the seriffing was dramatic, almost to the point of being ornamental; whilst on other occasions it was modest and barely noticeable (nos 47, 81, 88, 91–93, 109). At any rate, the seriffed X, whatever its appearance, was now – momentarily – the standard form for that letter, and it provides us with our defining feature for class Ia4.

Earlier scholarship to the contrary, a second feature is much less in evidence; it is the

²⁹ To repeat a point made earlier (note 19), the full data here can be found in the inventories for the separate mints.

reverse-barred N that was briefly introduced above. In fact, it appears on but a tiny minority of the known dies – a total of four obverses and five reverses. In combination it appears only three times – on coins of two moneyers of London and one of Northampton (nos 24, 89, 124). Clearly then it could also appear on a die by itself, though, interestingly, it never appears in the company of Ns that were ‘normal’ (nos 12, 81, 123). On only a single die does it appear in the company of a square E, and the reverse-barred N is associated with only the two mints mentioned.³⁰

A third feature, though not a defining one, was the ‘double-half-moon’ E and C, which was inherited from class Ia3, and which appears on the overwhelming majority of class Ia4 dies. Restricting ourselves for the moment to obverses (of which our sample total is 38), it is only for the mint of London that there is any variation. Thus we find this type of E and C seemingly on 17 of the 18 Ia4 provincial mint obverses,³¹ but find it lacking on eight of 21 obverses used by London moneyers. The most variable moneyer in this regard is FIL AIMER (see below), whose seriffed X dies contain multiples of both styles of E and C (nos 87–88, 91–93). Still, the presence of the feature must be allowed to join the seriffed X and reverse-barred N as constituting a supplemental identifier for class Ia4. Initiated in Ia3, it became a regular feature of class Ia4, and survived into Ia5 on a handful of obverses (nos 141–42).

There are no portrait-related features of any note on these dies, merely a sense that idiosyncratic images are now declining in number. Though the curls are as variable as ever, we are encountering for the first time the division that would later become standard – two to the left, along with five to the right. Though at least some of the portraits seem reminiscent of as far back as class Ia2 (nos 7, 97, 109), there are others whose visual impact seems only to anticipate the style of the future.

The standard stop between HENRICVS and REX is missing on a single obverse die of London (of FIL AIMER, no. 89), an aberration that is repeated on an obverse of the same moneyer in Ia5.

b. Ia4 Reverses

A total of 21 moneyers, representing five mints, issued coins bearing obverses of class Ia4; the mint that is missing is Exeter (see below). However, there is a problem in periodizing some of the associated reverses, in particular those lacking a reverse-barred N or ‘double-half-moon’ letter: such dies are indistinguishable from those of Ia5. For that matter, Ia4 obverses were capable of being combined with a wide array of reverses, including those of Ia2 (one example, no. 97) and Ia3 (ten examples; see the inventories).

There are two particular reverse dies of special note. The first, of moneyer RANDVL of London, uses a barred form of the letter A, a style not seen on any other die in the whole of Short Cross class I (no. 125). It appears again, very rarely, on odd dies of classes III and IV, and finally becomes standard in class V.

The second, of moneyer ROGER of Exeter, has a Ia5 obverse but an X with pronounced serifs on the reverse (no. 8). The question is whether the reverse ought to be considered properly a Ia4 die. If it is, it would help to shrink the period of ‘inactivity’ for the mint of

³⁰ For the sake of convenience, the coins with reverse-barred Ns are listed here together: 1) RANDVL.OV.LVX (no. 124); 2) FIL AIMER.OV.LVX (no. 89); 3) WALTIEROV.VOR (no. 24); 4) ALEIN.ON.LVN (no. 81, obv. only); 5) [JL.OV.LVX (no. 123, rev. only); 6) FILIP.OV.VORH (no. 12, rev. only). The obverse used by RANDVL was also combined by him with reverse dies displaying Ns that were normal (no. 125). Moreover, HENRI shared RANDVL’s obverse but all of

his known reverse dies contain Ns that are regular (nos 97–99).

³¹ The only exception is a problematic coin of HVNFREI of York. From the Wainfleet Hoard, it has all the characteristics of a standard obverse of class Ib, save for the presence of an X that is seriffed (no. 68). I have tentatively listed this coin as a Ia4, but it may well be of class Ib. If it is, that would explain the absence of ‘double-half-moon’ letters.

Exeter, which is unknown in Ia3 and otherwise unknown in Ia4. The subject of anomalous seriffed Xs in class Ib will be discussed later.

On only two recorded dies are any of the stops missing (one before ON, and one after ON). Also, we encounter a variation of spelling on only a single pair of London dies – of a moneyer ALEIN, instead of ALAIN. In fact, the obverses of these particular coins are even more noteworthy: both of Ia4 and thus part of the same time frame, they nevertheless display entirely different looks – from the portraits, to the shape of the X, to the form of the N (nos 81–82). In other words they are typical of the idiosyncracies of style that we have now come to expect in class Ia.

5. Type Ia5

Intended to supersede the old 'early Ib', the dominant feature of Ia5 is a portrait with an irregular number of curls, and a visage, more generally, that is often reminiscent of Ia2–Ia4. Equally to the point, the identity of the mints and moneyers in this sub-class is an exact match with those from earlier in the sequence. Of the total of 39 moneyers who issued in Ia1–Ia4, as many as 35 have been identified in class Ia5.³² Phrased differently, there were no new moneyers in class Ia5, disqualifying, in particular, the new mints of Carlisle, Lincoln, Oxford, and Worcester. The break between classes Ia and Ib, then, is not reducible simply to a matter of style, the point that is implicit in the original Lawrence formulation (square or round letters). Rather, it is to be associated with the expansion from six mints to ten, and with the predilection, finally, to freeze the style in a new consensus design.

a. Ia5 Obverses

An 'irregular' number of curls is a phenomenon that can be judged of course only in hindsight. As concerns class Ia, it is any other than the 2/5 division that we associate with class Ib, though several caveats are in order. First, since the standard for Ib was adopted only at the time, earlier combinations of 2/5 should not be ruled out from the mix of possibilities (no. 68). Second, the number of curls to the left is a more accurate barometer of where the die should be fit; when larger than two, the die, without exception, is given to the Ia complex. On the right side, by contrast, dies with a total of four or six curls can occasionally be found accompanying portraits that are indistinguishable from class Ib (see note 54). And third, dies that lack any curls whatsoever (left side or both sides) lie outside our formula and belong, in fact, to class Ib (nos 156–57).

The actual numerical combinations range from two to as many as six curls on the left side, to three to nine or ten (or 'multiple' or simply indeterminate) on the right side (nos 8, 28, 39, 49–50, 134–46). Some of the portraits strike us instantly as being of class Ia, whereas others seem to anticipate the standard image of class Ib. As noted, a few dies exhibit the 'double-half-moon' E and C, but this feature, which confirms the sequence, was now unmistakably on its way out. At any rate, we might, for the sake of illustration, show some of the variation across the six mints: a curls 2/3 ROBERT of Wilton; a curls 3/5 OSBER of Winchester; a curls 3/5 ASKETIL of Exeter; a curls 4/5 FIL AIMER of London; a curls 5/5 ALAIN of York; and a

³² Two of the four that are missing ceased production before class Ia5; they are HENRI of Winchester and HENRI PI of London (see below). The remaining two are JORDAN of Exeter and WILLELM of York. Two others (PIERES M of London and HVGO of York) were recorded by Lawrence in 1918, though we are unable to corroborate them today. Reporting on the Rome Hoard of some years earlier,

Lawrence listed a PIERES M with curls '4/5' that he explicitly described as of 'early' style; and a coin of HVGO (reading HVGE.ON.EVERW), similarly with curls '4/5'. (HVGE is the earliest spelling for the moneyer; see no. 65 in the Plates.) Lord Grantley and L.A. Lawrence, 'On a Find of French Deniers and English Pennies of the Twelfth Century', *BNJ* 14 (1918), 45–46.

curls 5/6 WILLELM of Northampton (nos 39, 136–40). Obviously, none of the other four class I mints (all of Ib) produced coins with comparable variations of curls.

b. Ia5 Reverses

There is almost no way to distinguish Ia5 reverses from the reverses of coins of class Ib. On only a single die have I found an unmistakable 'double-half-moon' E (no. 146), though the occasional reverse die link is to be noted. Thus on two coins of RANDVL, the obverses are, respectively, of classes Ia4 and Ia5, with the reverses from the identical die (nos 125, 134). It is a demonstration of another kind of the continuity of die usage between Ia4 and Ia5.

A final proof for the new classification system is the occasional 'muling' of the 'bookends' – of obverses of Ia1 with reverses that may be as late as Ia5. Such 'mules' survive for Exeter, London, and Northampton, with the example of Exeter clearly the most interesting. In this case a single obverse was used to produce coins over three of the five Ia phases, including – the main point – the earliest and the latest (nos 4–7). By contrast, the Ia1 obverse at London seems to have remained unused at the time it was cut. It was finally placed into service near the end of the Ia sequence (nos 113, 118–19).³³

On the larger issue of continuity and the rapidity of change, none of our 39 Ia moneyers is known to have used die combinations (obverse *and* reverse) in all five of the Ia phases. But the inference to be drawn is not that they went through periods of inactivity, but rather that they produced 'mules' as a matter of course. With the particulars of the design in a state of flux early in the series, the volume of combinations that were 'muled' became virtually the norm. As a result, we have two ways of approaching the resulting conundrum. We can either deny the essential validity of the concept of 'muling' in treating class Ia. Or, to repeat, we can accept it as the only technique by which to describe the coins schematically. If ours is the goal of establishing a chronology over a several month period, the notion of phases in and out of sync, i.e., 'muling', becomes inevitable.

6. *Of square, round, and seriffed letters in later classes*

In catalogues as recent as the Woodhead of 1990, we encounter classifications of several coins as being 'mules' of Ib/Ia. The sole criterion for such assessments was the presence or non-presence of a square E or seriffed X. However, the shape of any letter is informative only if we know when the die in question was cut. By extension, if a square E appears on a coin that seems otherwise of class Ib, it is best to think of it as an example of Ib, which happens, for whatever reason, to have the odd square letter. Such is the case clearly for the so-called 'mules' from the Woodhead Sale, which, according to this construction, are not 'mules' at all. And such is the case also for the inventory of examples that I enumerate below.

The letters we are concerned with here are M, C, E, and X, arranged in order of increasing difficulty of interpretation. A round M is known to me on only a single die that is outside the Ia complex. It is a late Ib penny of PIERES M of London and is clearly an anomalous throwback (no. 151). Similarly, a square C has been identified on but a single post-Ia die, this on a coin of ALAIN of Carlisle in which the C is unmistakably square (no. 152). Since Carlisle was not yet opened when square Cs were in vogue (Ia1–Ia2), we have another clear example of an anomalous usage.³⁴

³³ The moneyers and the mints here are OSBER of Exeter, HVGO of Northampton, and PIERES M of London; see the inventories below.

³⁴ For a discussion of this coin, see Martin Allen, 'The

Carlisle and Durham Mints in the Short Cross Period', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 42, citing a paper delivered by Mr Woodhead to the BNS in 1977. Another specimen has now turned up in the Wainfleet Hoard.

Square Es appear on post-Ia coins from a total of seven mints – London, Exeter, Winchester, York, Lincoln, Worcester, and Canterbury. Not only were the latter three not mints of class Ia, but the last, as is well known, was not a mint until class II. At any rate, here is a full inventory of the square letter specimens known to me:³⁵

Ib, RAVL.ON.LVNDE (no. 147)
 Ib, OSBER.ON.EXECE
 Ib, RICARD.ON.EXEC
 Ib, OSBER.ON.WINCE (no. 148)
 Ib, HVGO.ON.EVERWI (no. 149)
 III, REINALD.ON.CA (no. 150)
 III, EVERARD.ON.EVE
 Ib, LEFWINE.ON.NICO
 Ib, OSBER.ON.WIRIC
 IVa, ULARD.ON.CANTE
 IVa, AIMER.ON.LVNDE

The letter X appears on reverses of only Exeter and Oxford, and is known in the seriffed form on coins of Ib for five moneyers (two of Exeter, three of Oxford). Such a coin, of ROGER of Exeter, appeared in the Woodhead Sale and was described in the catalogue as a Ib/Ia*. More accurately, it is a Ib with a seriffed X on the reverse, the same as a coin of OSBER, just discovered, with that feature (nos 153–54). Similarly, ASKETIL, RICARD, and RODBERT of Oxford used reverses with seriffed Xs at a mint that did not produce coins until class Ib (no. 155). In my estimation, the dies in question (one for each moneyer) must have been engraved near or after the conclusion of class Ia5.³⁶

If seriffed Xs could appear anachronistically on Ib reverses, the same might occasionally happen on Ib (or later) obverses. Thus an obverse used exclusively by DAVI of London exhibits a seriffed X, with the point being that DAVI became a moneyer starting in class Ib. For that matter, a seriffed X appears on two obverse dies of the mint of Canterbury, with the coins themselves attributable to classes IVb and Vbiii!

7. A summary of Ia classification features

The list presented here is provided for quick access, with the following code of letters added as a guide: (d) diagnostic; (u) usual; (o) occasional; (e) exceptional.

Ia1: dot-dash outer circle (d), cross pattée crown (e), single or double right side drapery (o); semi-circular collar (o); square E (u); square C (o); round M (d); three-seriffed N (d); inconsistent number of curls (d); primitive portrait (u).

Ia2: square E (u); square C (o); round M (d); three-seriffed N (d); inconsistent number of curls (d).

Ia3: square E (u); round C (d); round M (u); four-seriffed N (d); reverse-barred N (e); 'double-half-moon' round E and C (d); inconsistent number of curls (d).

Ia4: seriffed X (d); 'double-half-moon' round E and C (u); square M (d); four-seriffed N (d); reverse-barred N (o); inconsistent number of curls (d).

Ia5: inconsistent number of curls (d); 'double-half-moon' E and C (e).

³⁵ I trust that the point can be made by illustrating only four of these.

³⁶ Mr Gittoes has added the moneyer RODBERT to the list of seriffed X reverses of Oxford.

III. The mints and moneyers of class Ia

1. Exeter³⁷

As already noted, Exeter was a mint mostly of the first and last phases of the Ia sequence. There are no known obverses in classes Ia2–Ia4, and only single reverses in Ia2 and Ia4. There were four moneyers who were active in class Ia, ASKETIL, IORDAN, OSBER, and ROGER.

ASKETIL (spelt ASKETIN) is known from a single pair of dies in Ia1 (no. 1), and then again from a single pair of dies in Ia5 (no. 137).

IORDAN is known from a single reverse in Ia1, but, unusually, from three different associated obverses (nos 2–4). Moreover, he seems to have had exclusive use of two of these obverses. IORDAN is not encountered again until class Ib, making him a rare absentee in class Ia5.

OSBER is known in class Ia1 from one of the three obverses used by IORDAN. But whereas IORDAN used that obverse to produce coins in class Ia1, OSBER, as mentioned, produced 'mules' of Ia1/Ia2 and Ia1/Ia5(?) exclusively (nos 5–7). OSBER was also active in Ia5 proper.

ROGER was recorded by Dolley for a coin of class Ia, but the coin, from the Aston Hoard, was apparently not photographed. Its present whereabouts are unknown.³⁸ ROGER is not heard of again until the Ia5/Ia4 seriffed X coin discussed above (no. 8). He was active on a regular basis in class Ia5.

The dies of Exeter can be presented schematically, limiting ourselves here to classes Ia1–Ia4.³⁹ The number that appears at the end of each entry is the total of coins known to me of those dies. I have not distinguished between fractional and full coins.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia1	(1) HENRICVSRE/X	(1) ASKETIN.ON.EXECE	[2]
Ia1	(2) HENRICVSRE/X	(2) IORDAN.ON.EXEH	[2]
Ia1	(3) HENRICVS.R/EX	(2)	[2]
Ia1	(4) HENRIEVS.R/EX	(2)	[11]
Ia1/Ia2	(4)	(3) OSBER.ON.EXEC.	[1]
Ia1/Ia5?	(4)	(4) OSBER.ON.EXECE	[1]
Ia1/Ia5?	(4)	(5) OSBER.ON.EXECES	[1]
Ia5/Ia4	(5) HENRICVS.R/EX	(6) ROGER.ON.EXECE	[1]

We have no way to explain the seeming 'gap' in the middle of the sequence. Similarly, it appears odd that IORDAN, with his single reverse, had access to three obverses, only one of which he shared with another moneyer. The sharing of an obverse (no. 4) between IORDAN and OSBER is in fact quite a typical practice in class Ia. As we shall see, each of our six mints had moneyers who similarly shared obverses. Yet there were always others who may not have done so.

The mint of Exeter had two other moneyers who, on the basis of current knowledge, were active exclusively in class Ib. They are RAVL and RICARD, the latter of whom, as we noted, used a reverse that exhibited an 'accidental' square E.

³⁷ Research on this mint was begun by Lord Stewartby, who contributed an article to the 1970 Brettell Sale catalogue: 'The Exeter Mint and its Moneyers'.

³⁸ See Michael Dolley, 'A Note on the Chronology of Some Published and Unpublished "Short Cross" Finds from the British Isles', *BNJ* 29 (1958–59), 302, for the following reading: 'Ia, ROGER.ON.E--ST.' Since a mint

signature with an S seems highly unlikely, it is difficult to know what to do with Dolley's attribution. A second Ia in the same inventory (this one of York, moneyer ISAC, p. 306) was similarly not photographed and has also gone missing.

³⁹ Except for the mint of Wilton (with only two obverses in Ia5), I have limited the listing of dies to classes Ia1–Ia4.

2. Northampton

The mint of Northampton produced coins in all five phases of class Ia, with a total of six moneyers who were active. Four of this number issued coins in Ia1, with the other two beginning in Ia2. The full complement of six moneyers was active in class Ia5. The pattern of die-sharing is more complex than for Exeter, with five of the six moneyers engaging in the practice. Thus HVGO and WALTER were linked, as were RAVL and WALTER, and REINALD and WILLELM. Only FILIP is not included here, an omission made the more striking by the number of obverses he used in Ia1–Ia2 – a total of five. The mint signatures for Northampton are as follows: NOR, NORA, NORAM, NORAMTV, NORH, and NORHT.

Looking at the six moneyers individually, the name FILIP, which became standard, had two earlier spellings – FELIPE and FILIPE (nos 9–11). One of FILIP's die combinations is of particular interest, exhibiting an obverse of Ia2, but with a reverse whose Ns are reverse-barred. Lacking any Es (hence FILIP.ON.NORH), the coin could possibly be confused as a 'mule' of Ia/Ib. Instead, I have elected to call it a Ia2/Ia3?, owing to the configuration of the two Ns on the reverse (no. 12). On the other hand, on two other die combinations with the same spelling (FILIP.ON.NORH), the Ns, which are regular, yield no clues. I have tentatively listed these as Ia2/Ia5?, though the reverses (lacking Es) might date from earlier (nos 13–14). No coins of FILIP have a seriffed X, though he was very active in class Ia5 (no. 143).

HVGO presents us with the same problem of interpreting his reverses. Known from only a single obverse in Ia1–Ia4 (shared with WALTER), he used three reverses, none of which contains an E that might assist us (nos 15–16). Active in Ia5, HVGO continued to produce coins in class Ib.

RAVL is known from only a single die combination (Ia2, linked with WALTER; nos 17, 23) before he began issuing again in Ia5. He became much more prominent in class Ib.

WALTER seems to have been the most prolific moneyer of Northampton in class Ia, producing coins in four of the total of five phases (nos 21–24), and sharing obverses with HVGO and RAVL. User of an early 'cross pattée' obverse in class Ia1 (no. 21), he is also known for the 'square E and reverse-barred N' obverse of class Ia3 (no. 24). He is unrecorded only in class Ia4.

REINALD and WILLELM are conventionally treated together. As demonstrated by Elmore Jones, the moneyers, who are die-linked, were of Northampton, not of Norwich, since there are reverses of WILLELM that read NORA and NORH.⁴⁰ However, were it not for this interest regarding their mint affiliation, they would otherwise seem to us quite typical. Thus, WILLELM is known in Ia1 but not in Ia2, whereas REINALD is known in just the opposite (nos 18, 25–26). The two men are die-linked momentarily in Ia4 (nos 19, 27), but then they separate and continue alone in Ia5 (nos 28, 140). Both remained active in class Ib, and REINALD was a presence in class Ic.

SIMUN(D) is the only moneyer of Northampton who apparently issued only in the period after class Ia was terminated.

The dies of Northampton are as follows (Ia1–Ia4):

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia1	(1) HENRICVS.RE/X	(1) FILIPE.ON.NORAMTV	[2]
Ia1	(2) HENRICVS.RE/X	(2) FELIPEON.NORH	[1]
Ia2	(3) HENRICVS.R/EX	(3) FILIPE.ON.NORA	[4]

⁴⁰ F. Elmore Jones, 'Norwich or Northampton – A "Short Cross" Problem', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 70.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia2/Ia3?	(4) HENRICVS.R/EX	(4) FILIP.ON.NORH	[1]
Ia2/Ia5?	(4)	(5) FILIP.ON.NORH	[1]
Ia2/Ia5?	(5) HENRICVS.R/EX	(6) FILIP.ON.NORH	[2]
Ia1/Ia5?	(6) HENRICVS.R/EX	(7) HVGO.ON.NORH	[1]
Ia1/Ia5?	(6)	(8) HVGO.ON.NORHT	[3]
Ia1/Ia5?	(6)	(9) HVGO.ON.NORHT	[1]
Ia2	(7) HENRICVS.R/EX	(10) RAVL.ON.NORAM	[2]
Ia2	(8) HENRICVS.R/EX	(11) REINALD.ON.NOR.	[1]
Ia4	(9) HENRICVS.R/EX	(12) REINALD.ON.NOR	[1]
Ia4	(10) HEN[]/EX	(12)	[1]
Ia1	(11) HENRICVS.RE/X	(13) WALTER.ON.NORAM	[2]
Ia1/?	(6)	(14) WALTER[]	[1]
Ia2	(12) HENRICVS.R/EX	(15) WALTER.ON.NOR	[7]
Ia2/?	(7)	(16) WA[]ORH	[1]
Ia3/Ia3?	(13) HENRICVS.R/EX	(17) WALTIERON.NOR	[1]
Ia1	(14) HENRICVSRE/X	(18) WILLELM.ON.NORA	[1]
Ia1	(15) HENRICVS.R/EX	(18)	[2]
Ia4/Ia3	(9)	(19) WILLELM.ON.NOR	[2]
Ia5/Ia3	(16) HENRICVS.R/EX	(20) WILLELM.ON.NOR	[1]

3. Wilton

As argued by Brand and Elmore Jones (but now questioned by Allen), the mint of Wilton was opened on an emergency basis in the wake of a serious fire at Winchester.⁴¹ The moneyer RODBERT of Winchester became RODBERT of Wilton, a fact that is ascertainable by his use of reverse dies that were re-tooled from those issued to Winchester; thus WIL appears struck over WIN (nos 32–34, 36). A second moneyer, OSBER, was similarly reassigned, although he was not obliged to use retooled dies.

As I have indicated elsewhere, an emergency measure at the outset became converted into an indefinite arrangement thereafter; the two moneyers remained active into class Ib, and OSBER was still a moneyer of Wilton late in that class.⁴² Moreover, the whereabouts of the two men are difficult to trace, since both seem to have been issuing coins at the two mints simultaneously. At any rate, we have coins of Wilton in four of the five Ia stages, with Ia3 the only one missing (OSBER is known in Ia3 at Winchester). The two moneyers are die-linked in class Ia2 (nos 29, 35), and then again, variously, in class Ib. Moreover, RODBERT is also die-linked with HENRI (nos 31 & 52, 34 & 53), and with HENRI and GOCELM as well as himself on coins produced at Winchester (nos 32, 46, 51, 58).

The dies of Wilton are as follows (Ia1–Ia5), with a * denoting a retooled reverse, and a # denoting a shared die with Winchester.

⁴¹ Though a few of the Brand and Elmore Jones conclusions have proved incorrect (see Jeffrey P. Mass, 'Two New Moneyers in Short Cross Ia*', *NCirc*, November 1991, 296), their central contention remains persuasive. Apart from the fire, there is no convincing way to explain the assignment of two established moneyers of Winchester to the nearby town of Wilton. In my own tentative reconstruction, RODBERT, upon his assignment, was

immediately given a Ia1 reverse die of Wilton, which he combined with a Ia1 obverse shared with HENRI of Winchester, and with a Ia2 obverse borrowed from OSBER, now at Wilton. He then turned to the first of his retooled reverses (Ia2), which, though originally assigned to him at Winchester, he now used at Wilton.

⁴² See Mass, 'Two New Moneyers'.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia2	(1) HENRICVS.R/EX	(1) OSBER.ON.WILT	[1]
Ia4	(2) HENRICVS.R/EX	(2) OSBER.ON.WILT	[2]
Ia5	(3) HENRICVS.R/EX	(3) OSBER.ON.WILT	[5]
Ia1	(4) HENRICVS.RE/X#	(4) RODBERT.ON.WILT	[3]
Ia1/Ia2	(5) HENRICVS.RE/X#	(5) RODBERT.ON.WIN:*	[4]
Ia2	(6) HENRICVS.R/EX	(5)	[4]
Ia2	(7) HENRICVS.R/EX#	(5)	[2]
Ia2/Ia1	(1)	(4)	[1]
Ia4	(9) HENRICVS.R/EX	(7) RODBERT.ON.WIL	[1]
Ia4	(10) HENRICVS.R/EX	(8) RODBERT.ON.WIL	[1]
Ia5	(11) HENRICVS.R/EX	(9) RODBERT.ON.WILT	[3]

4. Winchester

Of a total of seven moneyers at Winchester in class I, six issued coins in the Ia sequence.⁴³ Moreover, five of the six were present in Ia1, though the configurations of die usage exhibited different patterns. Thus HENRI and GOCELM shared the obverse that RODBERT then carried with him to Wilton (nos 46, 51, 58). For his part, RODBERT was the same RODBERT who produced the early cross pattée coin discussed above (nos 56–60). Obviously he was on hand from the very beginning, as was OSBER (known as OSBERN) who produced his own pattée coin, employing a different obverse. This parallel experience, brief as it may have been, may have commended the selection of these two moneyers for Wilton. CLEMENT is not die-linked in class Ia1, and ADAM is unrepresented in that class.

ADAM is indeed unknown in class Ia1 despite a coin mis-attributed to him in a recent *SCBI* volume. The coin in question is of IORDAN of Exeter (dies 4:2), not ADAM of Winchester.⁴⁴ For his part, ADAM appears in class Ia2 (no. 40), and is also known in Ia4 (no. 41) and in Ia5.

CLEMENT is an anomaly among class I moneyers – he is as scarce in class Ib as he is in Ia. He was around from very early, as demonstrated by the two obverses he used in Ia1. Inexplicably, however, whereas one of those dies has left us a fair number of coins (no. 43), the other has bequeathed but one survivor (no. 42). Moreover, the same pattern prevailed in class Ia2, with one die leaving a modest sample of specimens (no. 44), but the other so far only a singleton (no. 45). At that juncture, in Ia2, CLEMENT disappears from view, only to turn up again in class Ia5.

GOCELM, a prolific moneyer in class I as a whole, is known from only a single die in Ia1 – the one he was obliged to share with his two colleagues (no. 46). He is not known in Ia2, and his period of real activity began only in Ia4 (nos 47–50).

HENRI is one of a total of only two moneyers at all mints who opened and closed shop almost immediately. In possession of a single reverse, he nevertheless produced coins from three obverses (nos 51–53), all shared with other moneyers.⁴⁵ He ceased to be a moneyer in class Ia2.

⁴³ See my remarks below about REINIER, the seventh moneyer. A comprehensive study of the mint of Winchester is being prepared by Mrs Harvey, under the general editorship of Prof. Martin Biddle. Mr Gittoes has assisted Mrs Harvey with the Short Cross section.

⁴⁴ A photograph of this coin, which is in the Southampton

Museum, appears *SCBI* 42, *Southeastern Museums. Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Later Coins to 1279* (1992), no. 2233.

⁴⁵ This unusual die-linking, with accompanying photographs, was originally published by Brand and Elmore Jones in 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton'.

OSBER, who was active briefly in Ia1, is best known to us for a particular die combination in Ia3; it is the defining specimen of that sub-class (no. 54). However, both earlier and later he was active at Wilton, where he issued in Ia2 and in Ia4; he also produced coins at Winchester in Ia4 (no. 55). Continuing in this vein, he was active at both mints in Ia5, a feat he also achieved in class Ib.

REINIER is the only moneyer of Winchester who seems to have issued exclusively in class Ib, though an obverse of his, with curls 2/4, is known to exist.

RODBERT, the peripatetic traveller between Winchester and Wilton, was able to enjoy highly visible careers at both. He is known in Ia1, Ia2, and Ia5 at each mint, and in Ia4 exclusively at Wilton (nos 31–39, 56–60). He, like OSBER, was prolific at both mints in class Ib.

The dies of Winchester are as follows (Ia1–Ia4), with a # denoting a shared die with Wilton:

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia1	(1) (deleted)	(1) (deleted)	[1]
Ia2	(2) HENRICVS.R/EX	(2) ADAM.ON.WINCE	[2]
Ia4	(3) HENRICVS.R/EX	(3) ADAM.ON.WINCE	[1]
Ia4	(4) HENRICVS.R/EX	(4) ADAM.ON.WINC	[2]
Ia1	(5) HENRICVS[]	(5) C[]T.ON.WINC	[1]
Ia1	(6) HENRICVS.RE/X	(6) CLEMENT.ON.WIN	[8]
Ia2	(7) HENRICVS.R/EX	(7) CLEMENT.ON.WIN	[8]
Ia2	(8) HENRICVS.R/EX	(8) CLEMENT.ON.WIN	[1]
Ia1	(9) HENRICVS.RE/X#	(9) GOCELM.ON.WINC.	[2]
Ia4	(10) HENRICVS.R/EX	(10) GOCELM.ON.WIN	[3]
Ia4	(10)	(11) GOCELM.ON.WIN	[3]
Ia4	(11) HENRICVS.R/EX	(11)	[2]
Ia5/Ia3	(12) HENRICVS.R/EX	(12) GOCELM.ON.WIN	[3]
Ia5/Ia3	(13) HENRICVS.R/EX	(13) GOCELM.ON.WINC	[4]
Ia1/Ia2	(9)	(14) HENRI.ON.WINC.	[3]
Ia1/Ia2	(14) HENRICVS.RE/X#	(14)	[1]
Ia2	(15) HENRICVS.R/EX#	(14)	[1]
Ia1	(16)	(15) OSBERN	[1]
Ia3	(17) HENRICVS.R/EX	(16) OSBER.ON.WINC	[4]
Ia4/Ia3	(18) HENRICVSR/EX	(17) OSBER.ON.WINCC	[1]
Ia4	(18)	(18) OSBER.O[]	[1]
Ia1	(19) HENRICVS:RE/	(19) RODBERDON.W//EE	[1]
Ia1	(20) HENRICVS.R/EX	(20) RODBET.ON.WINC	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(9)	(21) RODBET.ON.WIN	[2]
Ia2	(21) HENRICVS.R/EX	(21)	[1]
Ia2	(22) HENRICVS.R/EX	(22) RODBERT.ON.WIN	[2]

5. York

York had a total of eight moneyers in class I, all of whom were active in the Ia sequence. However, only four produced coins in Ia1, and two of these (ISAAC and TVRKIL) achieved this feat by sharing an obverse (nos 69–71). In fact, the number of known dies for the mint is considerably smaller than we might have expected for a complement of eight moneyers. By contrast, Winchester and Northampton, with six moneyers apiece, used more dies and consequently produced more coins. In fact, we are left to consider the possibility that with eight moneyers at York there was not enough work for them individually. Thus the four who

were given access to dies in class Ia1 may have been outperformed, in practice, by two newcomers in Ia2. By Ia4, the remaining two moneyers were now active, along with at least three of their colleagues. By the time we get to class Ia5, as many as seven of the full complement were producing coins, with all eight finally active only in the post-Ia phase of the coinage itself.

Save for the momentary die sharing in class Ia1, we find no other examples for the remainder of the sequence.

ALAIN is known from only a single pair of dies in class Ia2 (no. 61), and is not encountered again until Ia5 (no. 139).

EFRARD issued coins using dies from four of the five phases – Ia1 (no. 62), Ia4/Ia3 (no. 63),⁴⁶ and Ia5. He became especially prolific in class Ib.

GERARD was a seeming newcomer in class Ia4 (no. 64), who remained active in class Ia5 and in Ib.

HVGO (spelt HVGE) is an anomaly, known from only a single combination of dies (Ia4/Ia3; no. 65). Prolific in class Ib, he is an obvious candidate to be discovered (or 'rediscovered'; see note 32) in class Ia5.

HVNFREI is the only moneyer known for more than a single die combination in any of the separate sub-classes from Ia1 to Ia4. In fact he issued coins twice in this fashion – in Ia2 and then again in Ia4 (nos 66–68). He was also active in class Ia5.

ISAAC (spelt also ISAC) is known in Ia1 from two reverses (the two spellings; nos 69–70), but then disappears until class Ia5, where he is die-linked (as he was in Ia1) with TVRKIL.

TVRKIL, very prominent in class Ib, is known from only a single pair of dies before Ia5. As mentioned, he shared an obverse of Ia1 with ISAAC (nos 69–71).

WILLELM provides proof of our inconsistent knowledge of the dies of Ia. Unknown in the class until a Ia4/Ia3 coin turned up a few years ago (no. 73),⁴⁷ WILLELM's career has been further 'transformed' by another discovery – of a Ia1 bearing his name (with no reverse stops!) in the Wainfleet Hoard (no. 72). Perhaps we should anticipate finding a Ia5 of this moneyer.

The dies of York are as follows (Ia1–Ia4):

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia2	(1) HENRICVS.R/EX	(1) ALAIN.ON.EVER	[2]
Ia1	(2) HENRICVS.RE/X	(2) EFRARD.ON.EVRP	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(3) HEN[]/EX	(3) EFR[]EVER	[2?]
Ia4	(4) HENRICVS.R/EX	(4) GERARD.ON.EVER	[4]
Ia4/Ia3	(5) HENRICVS.R/EX	(5) HVGE.ON.EVERWI	[3]
Ia2	(6) HENRI//S.R/EX	(6) //NFREI ON.EVE/	[1]
Ia2	(7) /ENR/CVS.////	(7) /////I.ON.EVER	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(8) HENRICVS.R/EX	(8) HVNFREI.ON.EVER	[2]
Ia4	(9) HENRICVS.R/EX	(9) HVNFREI.ON.EVER	[1]
Ia1	(10) HENRICVSRE/X	(10) ISAAC.ON.EVERVI	[1]
Ia1	(10)	(11) ISAC.ON.EVERWI	[1]
Ia1	(10)	(12) TVRKIL.ON.EVER	[2]
Ia1	(11) HENRICVS.RE/X	(13) WILLELMONEVER	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(12) HENRICVS/R/EX	(14) WILLELM.ON.EVER	[2]

⁴⁶ The Moor Monkton Hoard coin (no. 63) has just been joined by a second cut half, which, because the angle of the cut is different, may or may not be of the same dies. I have

added it to the inventory, followed by a question mark that relates to the dies.

⁴⁷ Mass, 'Two New Moneyers'.

6. London

In Short Cross class I there were as many as 20 moneyers at London of whom at least 13 were active in the Ia sequence. Among the 13, some nine shared dies on at least one occasion (Ia1–Ia4), though only one shared an obverse with as many as two moneyers (WILLELM with AIMER and IEFREI). A total of four moneyers evidently worked alone – including the prolific FIL AIMER whose coins seemingly began later than those of his son, known as AIMER.⁴⁸ One moneyer, HENRI PI, came and went almost instantaneously, joining HENRI of Winchester as the only moneyers who issued exclusively in class Ia; we do not find either moneyer in class Ib.

With its large complement of makers of the king's money, London used the greatest number of dies by far, and also had the largest discrepancy between obverses and reverses. Unlike elsewhere, no moneyers are known from only single die combinations, and only two are known from as few as two sets of dies. It is at London, moreover, that the use of initials to distinguish between namesakes becomes prominent, with the list engulfing a total of eight of the 13. Starting with AIMER and FIL AIMER, there were also ALAIN and ALAIN V, HENRI and HENRI PI, and PIERES and PIERES M. These pairings actually permit some deductive reasoning, having to do with lacunae in our data. For example, we know we must be lacking at least one set of dies when PIERES M seems to predate moneyer PIERES. Indeed, our overall impression is one of incompleteness in our knowledge of the London mint, particularly in the matter of die usage and numbers.

AIMER (also spelt EIMER) was that considerable rarity – a moneyer who was active (or nearly so) from beginning to end. With the exception of obverses in class Ia3, he used dies from all five phases of the Ia sequence (nos 74–80). Yet based on our current knowledge, he shared an obverse only on one occasion – with WILLELM in class Ia2 (nos 78, 131).

ALAIN (also spelt ALEIN) had a career that paralleled that of his namesake ALAIN V (also spelt ALEIN V), with whom he shared dies possibly in two Ia phases. The two men used the same obverse in Ia1 (nos 83–84), and then seem to have done the same in class Ia4 (nos 81, 85).⁴⁹ They are also die-linked in class Ib.

FIL AIMER was the dominant moneyer in both Ia4 and Ia5, issuing more coins from more dies than anyone else (nos 86–93, 138, 144).⁵⁰ Nevertheless, though he used at least 11 obverses in class Ia4, he did not, as already mentioned, share any of them. One of his obverses contained an aberrant spelling, with the S omitted from the king's name (no. 90).

HENRI and RANDVL (also known as RANDVLF) are the natural analogue to ALAIN and ALAIN V. That is, they shared obverses in the same two phases – in Ia1 and again in Ia4 (nos 95, 120–21; 97–99, 124–25). The die that they used in the second instance was combined with a total of at least seven reverses – proof, perhaps, of the resiliency of obverses. Of course we have also encountered examples of the opposite, e.g., IORDAN of Exeter (nos 2–4).

⁴⁸ The problems of explaining AIMER and FIL AIMER begin with the anomaly of the son's producing coins in class Ia1, seemingly before the arrival in England of his father; FIL AIMER's earliest coins are of Ia4/Ia3. In fact, the debate over these two moneyers has remained heated since the nineteenth century: whereas Vaux and Kenyon argued that the two moneyers were only one, Evans (and all successors) argued for separate identities; Evans, 'Further Remarks on the Short Cross Question', pp. 153–54. Yet there is no discounting the oddity of a surname (AIMER) in place of a Christian name on the coins themselves: if AIMER is the son of FIL AIMER (an assumption doubted by some today), we do not know the given name of this key moneyer (though AIMERY could also be a given name!). Moreover, other interpretations remain possible, in which the two men are not separable simply by the designations on the coins. Thus, e.g., the AIMER of the earliest

coins (the father) is superseded by the AIMER who is the son. Lord Stewartby has been evolving such an hypothesis.

⁴⁹ A full coin of ALEIN shares an obverse with a cut half on which the positioning of the mint signature seems to allow for an extra letter in the moneyer's name – thus perhaps ALAIN V. In the inventory see obv. 7 and rev. 15.

⁵⁰ Among the questions that continue to plague us about FIL AIMER are the following: 1) Why did most of his Ia4 dies not make use of 'double-half-moon' letters? 2) In view of FIL AIMER's termination in May 1181, what were the circumstances that caused him to be so prolific in Ia4 and Ia5 (autumn 1180), but seemingly much less active over a longer period thereafter (winter–spring 1180–81)? Evidently, we are missing pieces of the puzzle here. See Allen's documentary references to the relevant chronology here; and also note 48 above.

HENRI PI was a moneyer briefly in the middle of the sequence, and issued coins (with two reverses) in a combination that is otherwise unknown – Ia3/Ia2 (nos 100–01). Though it was much more normal for ‘mules’ to exhibit reverses that were later than their associated obverses, the opposite pattern also occasionally prevailed. HENRI PI’s career as moneyer ended in class Ia4 (nos 102–04).⁵¹

IEFREI and WILLELM had similar patterns of coin production in class Ia. Both were more or less active throughout the sequence, and shared a die momentarily in Ia4 (no. 133). Yet IEFREI is better known from two prolific combinations that he did not share (nos 108–09), suggesting that the notion of ‘workshops’ may be overdrawn. Dies that were loaned out, rather than dies that were jointly possessed, helps us to understand a pattern that was distinctly chequered.

IOHAN was clearly one of the pioneering moneyers of the series, making use of three obverses in Ia1 (nos 110–11, 113), including one of the ones that displayed a cross pattée crown (no. 110). On the other hand, he also shared a Ia1 obverse with moneyer PIERES M, which both men then combined with much later reverses (nos 113, 118–19). As noted above, we have the sense here of an unused obverse being put to work, resulting in coins that could genuinely be called ‘mules’.

PIERES is an anomaly based on current information. Enormously prolific in class Ib, he is not much in evidence in class Ia (in Ia2 and Ia5 only [nos 115–16, 146]). One of his obverses, however, is noteworthy, since it contains one of the very few spelling errors for the sub-class (HERICVS; no. 116).

PIERES M, by contrast, is much better known – only to disappoint us by being the only moneyer of London who we are unable to corroborate in Ia5 (see note 32). The obverse for which he is best recognized (of Ia1) is the one he shared with IOHAN, noted above, a die, however, that seems to have been assigned to him: if IOHAN used it once (no. 113), PIERES M combined it with four reverses (nos 118–19). Yet all of the coins that resulted were ‘mules’, and he is only known otherwise from a further ‘mule’ (of Ia1/Ia2; no. 117). In short, PIERES M seems to have been limited to Ia1 obverses, which he then combined with later reverses.

REINALD was a loner from beginning to end. Known from only two pairs of dies in Ia1–Ia4, REINALD’s reverses are of interest because of what is missing from them. Neither has a square E in the moneyer’s name. However, the first has an N with only three serifs (and is therefore of Ia2; no. 127), whereas the second has a ‘double-half-moon’ E (and is thus, probably, of Ia2/Ia3; no. 128). Moreover, a coin of this moneyer in Ia5 exhibits a rarely seen ‘double-half-moon’ usage in that late phase (no. 142).

The dies of London are as follows (Ia1–Ia4):

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia1	(1) HENRICVS.RE/X	(1) AIMER.ON.LVNDE	[2]
Ia1	(2) HENRIEVS.R/EX	(1)	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(2)	(2) AIMER.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2	(3) HENRICVS.R/EX	(3) EIMER.ON.LVN.	[1]
Ia2	(3)	(4) []ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2/Ia3	(3)	(5) AIMER.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(4) HENRICVS.R/EX	(6) AIMER.ON.LVNDE	[2]
Ia4	(4)	(7) AIMER.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4	(5) HENR//VS.R/EX	(8) AI/ER.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia2?	(6) HENRICVS.R/EX	(9) ALAIN.ON.LVND	[1]

⁵¹ I am assuming that the obverse in no. 104 in the Plates is of class Ia4, though it could possibly be of class Ia5. In that

case the coin would be a Ia5/Ia4 ‘mule’. See also the end note on p. 52 below.

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia4	(7) HE RICVS.R/EX	(10) ALEIN.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4	(8) HENRICVS.R/EX	(11) ALAIN.ON.LVND	[2]
Ia1/Ia2	(6)	(12) ALEIN.V.ON.LVN	[2]
Ia1/Ia2	(6)	(13) A//INV.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia3?	(6)	(14) ALAIN.V[]	[2]
Ia4	(7)	(15) [ALAINV].ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(9) HENRICVS.R/EX	(16) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(10) HENRICVS.R/EX	(16)	[5]
Ia4/Ia3	(11) []NRICVS.R[]	(17) []AIMER.ON[]	[1]
Ia4	(9)	(18) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[3]
Ia4	(9)	(19) FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN	[3]
Ia4	(10)	(20) FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(12) HENRICVSR/EX	(21) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(13) HENRICV.R/EX	(21)	[1]
Ia4	(14) HENRICVS.R/EX	(22) FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(15) HENRICVS.R/EX	(23) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(16) HENRICVS.R/EX	(24) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(17) HENRICVS.R/EX	(25) FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(18) HENRICVS.R/EX	(26) FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(18)	(27) FILAIMER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(19) HENRICVS.R/EX	(28) FIL.A//ER.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(20) HENRICVS.R/EX	(29) HENRI.ON.LVND	[2]
Ia1/Ia2(?)	(21) HENRICVSR/EX	(30) HENRI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(21)	(31) HENRI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2	(22) HENRICVS.R/EX	(32) HENRIC N/SLVNDE	[1]
Ia4/Ia2	(23) HENRICVS.R/EX	(33) HENRI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4/Ia3	(23)	(34) HENRI.ON.LVNDE	[1]
Ia4	(23)	(35) HENRI.ON.LVND	[2]
Ia4	(23)	(36) HENRI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4	(23)	(37) HENRI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia3/Ia2	(24) HENRICVS.R/EX	(38) HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia3/Ia2	(24)	(39) HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(25) HENRICVSR/EX	(40) HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(25)	(41) HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	[2]
Ia4	(26) []ICVS.R/[]	(41)	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(27) HENRICVS.R/EX	(42) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[2]
Ia1/Ia2	(27)	(43) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(27)	(44) [?]N.LVNDE	[1]
Ia2	(28) HENRICVS.R/EX	(45) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2/Ia3?	(28)	(46) IEFREI.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(29) HENRICVS.R/EX	(47) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[3]
Ia4	(30) HENRICVS.R/EX	(48) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[4]
Ia4	(30)	(49) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia4	(31) HENRICVS.R/EX	(50) IEFREI.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1	(32) HENRICVS.R/EX	(51) IOHAN.ON.LVNDE	[2]
Ia1	(33) HENRICVSR/EX	(52) IOHAN.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(33)	(53) IOHAN.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia4?	(34) HENRICVS.R/EX	(54) IOHAN.O[]	[1]
Ia2/Ia5?	(35) HENRICVS.R/EX	(55) IOHAN.ON.LVND	[3]
Ia2/Ia5?	(35)	(56) IOHAN.ON.LVND	[1]

<i>Class</i>	<i>Obverse Die</i>	<i>Reverse Die</i>	
Ia2	(36) HENRICVS.R/EX	(57) PIERES.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2	(37) HENRICVS.RE/X	(58) PIERES.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(38) HENRICVS.RC/X	(59) PIERESM.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia1/Ia4?	(34)	(60) PIERESM.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia1/Ia4?	(34)	(61) []RESM.ON.[]	[1]
Ia1/Ia5?	(34)	(62) PIERES.M.ON.LVN	[3]
Ia1/Ia5?	(34)	(63) PIERES.M.ON.LVN	[2]
Ia1	(21)	(64) RANDVL.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia1/Ia2	(21)	(65) RANDVL.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia2	(39) []NRICVS.R/[]	(65)	[2]
Ia2	(40) HENRICVS.RE/X	(66) RANDVLF.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia2/Ia4	(41) HENR[]EX	(67) []L.ONLVN	[1]
Ia4	(23)	(68) RANDVL.ON.LVN	[2]
Ia4	(23)	(69) RANDVL.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(23)	(70) RANDVL.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia4	(42) HENRICVS.R/EX	(71) RANDVL.ON.LVND	[1]
Ia2	(43) HENRICVS.R/EX	(72) REINALD.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia2/IaA3?	(44) HENRICVS.R/EX	(73) REINALD.ON.LVN	[1]
Ia1	(45) H//RICVS.RE/X	(74) WILLE//.ON.LVNDE	[1]
Ia2	(46) HENRICVS.R/EX	(75) WILLELM.ONLVN	[5]
Ia2	(46)	(76) []LELM.ON[]	[1]
Ia2	(47) HENRICVS.R/EX	(77) WILLELM.ONLVN	[1]
Ia2/Ia3	(3)	(78) WILLELM.ON.LVN	[2]
Ia2/Ia3	(48) HENRICVS.R/EX	(78)	[2]
Ia4	(31)	(79) WILLELM.ON.LVN	[5]

The class I moneyers of London who did not issue in any phase of the Ia sequence are ALWARD, DAVI, GEFREI, GILEBERT, GODARD, OSBER, and RAVL. Though Lawrence believed that RANDVL and RAVL were the same person, he offered no evidence for his surmise. Similarly, he offered no proof for IEFREI and GEFREI being the same man, though here we have a division based on sub-classes: the name IEFREI appears exclusively in classes Ia–Ib, whereas GEFREI only in class Ic.⁵²

7. Ia1–Ia4 coins of indeterminate mints

Not surprisingly, there are a number of damaged coins and cut halves and quarters that cannot be attributed to specific mints or moneyers. The brief list that follows is only a sampling from my own collection, and the numbers, obviously larger, are certain to grow. In fact, considerably more than half of the recently discovered Ias are fractional specimens – a tribute to the technology of the newest metal detectors. At the same time, the phenomenon raises anew the question first bruited by John Brand: at the start of a new series such as the Short Cross, is it not to be expected that there will be a disproportionate number of fractions to satisfy an immediate need for small change?

From the vantage point of class Ia, the ratio of halves and quarters to full coins is

⁵² The conundrum, which may be irresolvable, affects the total number of moneyers at the mint of London – 18, 19, or 20. If RAVL was a new contraction for RANDVL, the name RANDVL (not RAVL) was still used at Norwich/Northampton in

Short Cross class IV. In the second instance, GEFREI, with a G, became the preferred spelling seemingly from this juncture; there is a GIFFRI of Northampton in class IVa, and a GIFFRI of Norwich in class Vb.

increasing, as just mentioned. On the other hand, cuts are turning up in large numbers throughout most of the series, and it may only be in class VIII that they are still hard to find. This may suggest that hoards are not as representative as we once thought, or at least not as representative in this important category. For instance, in the Wainfleet Hoard, recently discovered in Lincolnshire, there were a total of only three cut halves out of 386 coins (see below). By contrast, stray finds are running heavily in favour of fractions.

- a. Ia2 []INAL[] – square E on obverse; presumably REINALD of either London or Northampton
- b. Ia2 []LELM.ON.[] – square E on obverse; presumably WILLELM of London, Northampton, or York.
- c. Ia4 []ON.LVN[] – seriffed X on obverse
- d. Ia4 []VND – seriffed X on obverse
- e. Ia4? []ON.LVND – ‘double-crescent’ E on obverse

8. An inventory of moneyers by sub-class

The following is a list of the 39 moneyers and the sub-classes in which they are known to have produced coins. A number of reverse dies fall, indeterminately, between Ia3 and Ia5, especially on fractional coins or on coins whose legends lack key letters.

a. Exeter

	Ia1	Ia2	Ia3	Ia4	Ia5
ASKETIN/ASKETIL	X				X
IORDAN	X				
OSBER	O	R			X
ROGER				R	X

b. Northampton

FILIP/FILIPE/FELIPE	X	X	R?		X
HVGO	O				X
RAVL		X			X
REINALD		X		X	X
WALTER/WALTIER	X	X	X		X
WILLELM	X		R	O	X

c. Wilton

OSBER		X		X	X
RODBERT	X	X		X	X

d. Winchester

ADAM/ADAN		X		X	X
CLEMENT	X	X			X
GOCELM	X		R	X	X
HENRI	O	X			
OSBER/OSBERN	X		X	X	X
RODBERD/RODBET/RODBERT	X	X			X

	Ia1	Ia2	Ia3	Ia4	Ia5
e. York					
ALAIN		X			X
EFRARD	X		R	O	X
GERARD				X	X
HVGE			R	O	X?
HUNFREI		X	R	X	X
ISAAC/ISAC	X				X
TVRKIL	X				X
WILLELM	X		R	O	
f. London					
AIMER/EIMER	X	X	R	X	X
ALAIN/ALEIN	O	R?		X	X
ALAIN V/ALEIN V	O	R	R?	X?	X
FIL AIMER			R	X	X
HENRI	O	X	R	X	X
HENRI PI		R	O	X	
IEFREI	O	X	R?	X	X
IOHAN	X	X		R?	X
PIERES		X			X
PIERES M	O	R		R?	X?
RANDVL/RANDVLF	X	X		X	X
REINALD		X	R?		X
WILLELM/WILLEM	X	X	R	X	X

IV. Hoards

Among the fairly numerous hoards (large and small) that contained Short Cross coins, a number clearly included specimens of class Ia. Both Eccles and Colchester were obviously among these, and the Colchester inventory employs square letters, perhaps with some inconsistency. Though it might be possible to reconstruct a list of Ias from such data (as well as from the coins and tickets in the BM and elsewhere), that would be a more appropriate exercise for another paper. Moreover, the same point could be made regarding more recent hoards, a number of which have been published with accessible inventories. We note that some of these hoards contained a few examples of Ia, though others, quite obviously, did not.⁵³ But nowhere was there anything approaching a trove of these early coins, omitting from consideration those now designated Ia5 under the new scheme.

All that is now changed, however, with a pair of recent hoards, as yet unpublished. What distinguishes these two hoards is their early date of deposit, respectively *c.* 1185 and *c.* 1195, and their high percentage of specimens of Ia. The hoards in question are the Moor Monkton, which resides in the British Museum, and the Wainfleet, which has now been dispersed, following the BM's selection of the coins it wished to retain. Of the two, the Wainfleet is certainly the more remarkable, with a total of 20 coins with at least one die in classes Ia1–Ia4,

⁵³ Among the published hoards with coins of Ia are Les Mans II (two coins), Crowle (one coin), and Rotenfels (one coin). The unpublished Bainton Hoard had one coin, and an

unpublished southern hoard had several. However, a number of other hoards clearly had no Ias (Ia1–Ia4), among them Gisors, Montpellier, Wrexham, and Ribe I and II.

and at least 13 (and as many as 19 or more) in class Ia5.⁵⁴ It will be useful to analyze each of these hoards separately.

The Moor Monkton, with 114 coins, is the only hoard exclusively of Short Cross class I.⁵⁵ That in itself is arresting enough, but an even more striking feature is its ratio of cuts to full coins – some 38 out of the total just cited and hence a ratio of precisely 1:2. The percentages are even more dramatic in class Ia (Ia1–Ia4), with but one full coin out of a complement of 11.⁵⁶ To the extent that these numbers represent an approximation of what was circulating in 1185, the prospects regarding the content of future finds become discouraging! On the other hand, the hoard may be more representative of the hoarder's financial situation, in which it was easier for him to stash away fractional money. At any rate, there is no reason to doubt the representativeness of the mints and moneyers, and it is with this subject that we are most concerned anyway.

All ten mints of class I are found in the hoard,⁵⁷ as well as specimens of four of the six mints in class Ia (Ia1–Ia4). Moreover, a total of eight moneyers are included among these Ias, with the distribution not far from what we might have anticipated. Thus London has seven coins, followed by Wilton with two, York with two, and Northampton with one. Winchester appears in class Ia5, and Exeter at the beginning of class Ib.

The Wainfleet Hoard is not only much larger but also very different.⁵⁸ As we have already seen, there are only three fractions among its 386 coins. Moreover, though it was deposited during the issuance of class IVa, there is the remarkably high total of coins from class Ia, which dated from approximately 15 years earlier. The high state of preservation for the hoard as a whole helps us to reconstruct what may have happened. Rather than being a random sampling as of c. 1195, the coins had been put aside over a fifteen year period. The high quotient from class Ia is suggestive of the hoarder's possible prosperity in 1180, to be contrasted with the experiences of other less successful years. Thus, for example, alongside the 33–39 coins from mid-1180, there are but three specimens from the whole of class II – whose period of duration may be uncertain, but whose greater proximity to the date of deposit is obvious.

At any rate, all six mints of Ia are represented in the hoard, along with some 22–24 moneyers. In other words, 22–24 moneyers of the total of 39 known for the class can be found among the hoard's 33–39 coins in Ia1–Ia5. Viewed differently, we find two of the four moneyers from Exeter, two of the six from Northampton, one of the two from Wilton, three or four of the six from Winchester, five of the eight from York, and nine or ten of the 13 from London. Moreover, among these coins, we discover three new additions to our inventories of names in the separate sub-classes, though there are no new names overall – there being, as we have hypothesized, no available candidates. Not surprisingly, the coins represent a mixture of known and unknown dies, the appearance of which tells us different things. The known dies reinforce our sense of familiarity with this subset of coins from the opening phase of the Short Cross series. But the unknown dies pull in the other direction.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Classifications must remain tentative for at least six of the coins, owing to curls in a configuration of 2/4; it is possible that they were produced early in class Ib (see the inventory below). At the same time, several additional coins are of somewhat problematic classification, owing to wear in the region of the curls.

⁵⁵ This hoard will be published by M.M. Archibald and B.J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards I* (forthcoming). Photographs of the hoard are available from the British Museum. The Rome Hoard contained Tealbys and continental coins as well as 69 pence of Short Cross class I.

⁵⁶ However the one full specimen is a coin of the highest importance – the one displaying a Ia3 obverse that reads WALTIEROZZOR (no. 24).

⁵⁷ Only York, from the region of the find spot, seems disproportionately represented overall, with 24 coins in total. This compares with 43 at London, but with only 12 at Winchester (in third place).

⁵⁸ Discovered near Skegness in Lincolnshire by a farmer ploughing his own field, its contents were protected by an earthen jug that has also been recovered and is now in the BM. Wainfleet coins included in the plates are as follows (references are to numbers in the plates): 1, 10, 47, 72, 79, 88, 91–92, 114, 135–36, 141, 145, 148–50, 152, 156–57.

⁵⁹ I have found two new obverses in class Ia1 (in the plates, nos 10 and 72), and five new obverses in class Ia4 (nos 68, 91–92, plus two others of FIL AIMER). I have not attempted to identify new dies in class Ia5.

Here is an inventory of the Wainfleet coins from classes Ia1–Ia5. An asterisk denotes dies that are different from those of the preceding coin. The Wainfleet material has been incorporated into the die studies of the individual mints above.

Ia1	ASKETIN.ON.EXECE
Ia5	ROGER.ON.EXECC
Ia1	FELIPE.ON.NORH
Ia5	FILIP.ON.NORHT
Ia5?	FILIP.ON.NORHT (curls 2/4)
Ia2	WALTER.ON.NOR
Ia2	RODBERT.ON.WIL:
Ia5?	ADAM.ON.WINCE (curls 2/4)
Ia5/Ia3	GOCELM.ON.WINC
Ia4	GOCELM.ON.WIN
Ia5?	GOCELM.ON.WIN (curls 2/4)
Ia5	OSBER.ON.WINCE
Ia5	RODBERT.ON.WIN
Ia5	ALAIN.ON.EVERW
Ia4/Ia3	HVGE.ON.EVERWI
Ia4	HVNFREI.ON.EVER
Ia5	TVRKIL.ON.EVER
Ia5	TVRKIL.ON.EVER*
Ia5	TVRKIL.ON.EVER*
Ia1	WILLELMONEVER
Ia4/Ia3	WILLELM.ON.EVER
Ia4/Ia3	AIMER.ON.LVNDE
Ia5	ALAIN.ON.LVND
Ia5	ALAIN.V.ON.LVND
Ia4/Ia3	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN
Ia4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN
Ia4	FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN*
Ia4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN*
Ia4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN*
Ia5?	FIL.AIMER.ON.LVN (curls 2/4)
Ia1/Ia2	HENRI.ON.LVND
Ia5	HENRION.LVND
Ia5	IEFREI.ON.LVND
Ia2/Ia5	IOHAN.ON.LVND
Ia5?	IOHAN.ON.LVND (curls 2/4)
Ia5?	PIERES.ON.LVND (curls 2/4)
Ia5	RANDVL.ON.LVN
Ia2	WILLELM.ON.LVN
Ia2	WILLELM.ON.LVN*

V. Conclusions

The coins of class Ia were in issuance for a period of at least four to five months in the middle of 1180. At the time of writing, I have identified a total of 109 obverses in classes Ia1–Ia4,⁶⁰

⁶⁰ There are 104 dies in the inventories, plus five (see p. 43–44 above), more from unidentified cuts and fragments in my collection.

with a commensurately large number in class Ia5. As regards Ia5, FIL AIMER alone may be known for as many as 15–20 obverses, and there are as many as 34 other moneyers who issued in the subclass. If each is known on the average for a total of 1.5 obverses in Ia5, our total for the subclass would be in the range of 65–70. That would mean a grand total of approximately 175 known obverses for the opening phase of the new Short Cross series.

The total number of known reverse dies is more difficult to gauge because of the absence of definitive signposts on many of them. That is, we have no way to distinguish among a large number of the reverses of Ia4 and Ia5, and also between those two subclasses and dies of class Ib. For example, what I have designated a Ia4 reverse could, in some instances, have dated from later (or even, conceivably, from earlier – class Ia3). Lacking a ‘double-half-moon’ E or a reverse barred N, a number of the reverses of FIL AIMER, in particular, may in fact be Ia4/Ia5 ‘mules’. At any rate, the totals through Ia4 are something on the order of 140–150 known reverses, with (a mere guess) perhaps 90 more in class Ia5. Though hardly ‘rare’ from such a vantage point, they remain far rarer than the coins that succeeded them.

They also, if I may say so, generate more interest, allowing us to separate them into sequential sub-classes. By comparison, the coins of Ib, issued over a much longer period, can only be divided into early and late; whereas the coins of Ic have resisted all attempts so far to chronologize them.

In class Ia, to summarize, we encounter 39 moneyers, none of whom was new in class Ia5.⁶¹ Four new mints were opened at the point of transition to class Ib, and we find ourselves with 28 names we have never seen before. Of this total, 20 were at the new mints themselves, but five were at London,⁶² along with two at Exeter, and one each at Northampton and Winchester. It is the absence of new names in Ia5, combined with an obverse style reminiscent of class Ia, that obliges us to divide the coinage using a set of criteria more diverse than that suggested by Lawrence when he pioneered the subject 80 years ago.

In this new construction, square Es, square Cs, and round Ms need to be joined by the other features that we have introduced here, for example, the ‘double-half-moon’ E and the three-serifed N. Indeed, when we contemplate the full range of stylistic variations, we see that it is the very absence of a single look that becomes perhaps the defining feature of class Ia. When the series settled down, as it did in class Ib, the fixed nature of the coinage became almost a model to itself.

VI. A guide to the plates

The coins selected for inclusion in the plates represent a compromise between a minimalist and maximalist approach. That is, the total falls somewhat short of comprehensiveness, but is considerably more than might be required to illustrate only main points. Since this paper includes an inventory of known dies, it has seemed useful to present a generous selection representing all moneyers. On the other hand, there has seemed little need to include all the dies of, say, FIL AIMER, though I have found it necessary on occasion to go beyond class Ia itself. For example, a selection of the post-Ia coins with square letters has been illustrated.

On another point, I have not always sought out the finest known specimens for inclusion. Rather, I have relied on new examples and on available photographs. I am especially grateful to Martin Allen for the use of his photo file, and to William Conte who has photographed coins in my collection.

⁶¹ The only possible exception is REINIER of Winchester (see above p. 38).

⁶² There were four (perhaps five) new moneyers of London

in Ib, with one (perhaps two) additional moneyers in class Ic – hence our total of 18–20 for the mint during the whole of class I (see note 52).

The actual arrangement of the plates will follow a generally chronological scheme by mint and moneyer. Such a method has the advantage of showing the progress of individual moneyers, and also follows the format adopted for the inventories of the mints. However, it has the disadvantage of fragmenting the sub-classes, with the result that the coins of, say, Ia1 will not all be located on the same page. Unfortunately, there is no resolving this dilemma. The reader will have to make the best of a confusing system, with the awareness that the phenomenon of 'muling' would have made any effort to chronologize by type even more tortured. The post-Ia material will be placed at the end where it belongs.

Finally, acknowledgements, where possible, will be made to current owners. References to Brand or Elmore Jones will be used only where the current whereabouts of coins are unknown. Needless to say, numerous unacknowledged collections, both public and private, have been consulted.

Sources of coins and their accompanying plate numbers:

AM	Ashmolean Museum
BIM	Birmingham Museum
BM	British Museum
FM	Fitzwilliam Museum
NM	Northampton Museum
PM	Perth Museum
RH	Rotenfels Hoard
MRA	Collection of Martin Allen
JDB	Collection of John Brand
FEJ	Collection of F. Elmore Jones
RCL	Collection of R.C. Lockett
JJN	Collection of Jeffrey North
IS	Collection of Lord Stewartby
PW	Collection of Peter Woodhead
JPM	Collection of the Author

			<i>dies</i>	
1.	Ia1	ASKETIN.ON.EXECE	1/1	JPM
2.	Ia1	IODAN.ON.EXEH	2/2	JPM
3.	Ia1	IODAN.ON.EXEH	3/2	JPM
4.	Ia1	IODAN.ON.EXEH	4/2	JPM
5.	Ia1/Ia2	OSBER.ON.EXEC.	4/3	BM
6.	Ia1/Ia5?	OSBER.ON.EXECE	4/4	BM
7.	Ia1/Ia5?	OSBER.ON.EXECES	4/5	BM
8.	Ia5/Ia4	ROGER.ON.EXECE	5/6	BM
9.	Ia1	FILIP.E.ON.NORAMTV	1/1	BM
10.	Ia1	FELIP.E.ON.NORH	2/2	BM
11.	Ia2	FILIP.E.ON.NORA	3/3	GPG
12.	Ia2/Ia3?	FILIP.O.Z.NORH	4/4	JPM
13.	Ia2/Ia5?	FILIP.ON.NORH	4/5	BM
14.	Ia2/Ia5?	FILIP.ON.NORH	5/6	JPM
15.	Ia1/Ia5?	HVGO.ON.NORHT	6/8	JPM
16.	Ia1/Ia5?	HVGO.ON.NORHT	6/9	NM
17.	Ia2	RAVL.ON.NORAM	7/10	JPM
18.	Ia2	REINALD.ON.NOR.	8/11	FEJ
19.	Ia4	REINALD.ON.NOR	9/12	BM
20.	Ia4	[]ALD.ON.N[]	10/12	JPM
21.	Ia1	WALTER.ON.NORAM	11/13	JPM
22.	Ia2	WALTER.ON.NOR	12/15	BM
23.	Ia2/?	WA[]ORH	7/16	FM
24.	Ia3/Ia3?	WALTIERO.Z.ZOR	13/17	BM
25.	Ia1	WILLELM.ON.NORA	14/18	JPM
26.	Ia1	WILLELM.ON.NORA	15/18	BM

			<i>dies</i>	
27.	Ia4/Ia3	WILLELM.ON.NOR	9/19	BM
28.	Ia5/Ia3	WILLELM.ON.NOR	16/20	RCL
29.	Ia2	OSBER.ON.WILT	1/1	BM
30.	Ia4	OSBER.ON.WILT	2/2	JPM
31.	Ia1	RODBERT.ON.WILT	4/4	BM
32.	Ia1/Ia2	RODBERT.ON.WIN:	5/5	JPM
33.	Ia2	RODBERT.ON.WIN:	6/5	JPM
34.	Ia2	RODBERT.ON.WIN:	7/5	JPM
35.	Ia2/Ia1	RODBERT.ON.WILT	1/4	JPM
36.	Ia4	RODBERT.ON.WIN	8/6	JPM
37.	Ia4	RODBERT.ON.WIL	9/7	JJN
38.	Ia4	RODBERT.ON.WIL	10/8	BM
39.	Ia5	RODBERT.ON.WIL	11/9	JPM
40.	Ia2	ADAM.ON.WINCE	2/2	JPM
41.	Ia4	ADAM.ON.WINCE	3/3	JPM
42.	Ia1	C[]ON.WINC	5/5	IS
43.	Ia1	CLEMENT.ON.WIN	6/6	JPM
44.	Ia2	CLEMENT.ON.WIN	7/7	BM
45.	Ia2	CLEMENT.ON.WIN	8/8	MRA
46.	Ia1	GOCELM.ON.WINC.	9/9	JPM
47.	Ia4	GOCELM.ON.WIN	10/10	JPM
48.	Ia4	GOCELM.ON.WIN	11/11	JPM
49.	Ia5/Ia3	GOCELM.ON.WIN	12/12	GPG
50.	Ia5/Ia3	GOCELM.ON.WINC	13/13	JPM
51.	Ia1/Ia2	HENRI.ON.WINC.	9/14	JPM
52.	Ia1/Ia2	HENRI.ON.WINC.	14/14	GPG
53.	Ia2	HENRI.ON.WINC.	15/14	BM
54.	Ia3	OSBER.ON.WINC	17/16	JPM
55.	Ia4/Ia3	OSBER.ON.WINCC	18/17	PM
56.	Ia1	RODBERDON.W//EE	19/19	IS
57.	Ia1	RODBET.ON.WINC	20/20	BM
58.	Ia1/Ia2	RODBET.ON.WIN	9/21	JPM
59.	Ia2	RODBET.ON.WIN	21/21	BM
60.	Ia2	RODBERT.ON.WIN	22/22	JPM
61.	Ia2	ALAIN.ON.EVER	1/1	JJN
62.	Ia1	EFRARD.ON.EVRP	2/2	GPG
63.	Ia4/Ia3	EFR[]EVER	3/3	BM
64.	Ia4	GERARD.ON.EVER	4/4	JPM
65.	Ia4/Ia3	HVGE.ON.EVERWI	5/5	JPM
66.	Ia2	//////I.ON.EVER	7/7	JPM
67.	Ia4/Ia3	HVNFREL.ON.EVER	8/8	BM
68.	Ia4	HVNFREL.ON.EVER	9/9	BM
69.	Ia1	ISAAC.ON.EVERVI	10/10	JPM
70.	Ia1	ISAC.ON.EVERWI	10/11	BM
71.	Ia1	TVRKIL.ON.EVER	10/12	BM
72.	Ia1	WILLELMONEVER	11/13	BM
73.	Ia4/Ia3	WILLELM.ON.EVER	12/14	JPM
74.	Ia1	AIMER.ON.LVNDE	1/1	JPM
75.	Ia1	AIMER.ON.LVNDE	2/1	PW
76.	Ia1/Ia2	AIMER.ON.LVND	2/2	IS
77.	Ia2	EIMER.ON.LVN.	3/3	RH
78.	Ia2/Ia3	AIMER.ON.LVND	3/5	JPM
79.	Ia4/Ia3	AIMER.ON.LVNDE	4/6	BM
80.	Ia4	AI/ER.ON.LVND	5/8	GPG
81.	Ia4	ALEIN.ON.LVND	7/10	JPM
82.	Ia4	ALAIN.ON.LVND	8/11	JPM
83.	Ia1/Ia2	ALEIN.V.ON.LVN	6/12	JPM

			<i>dies</i>	
84.	1a1/1a2	A//INV.ON.LVND	6/13	MRA
85.	1a4	[ALAINV?]ON.LVND	7/15	JPM
86.	1a4/1a3	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	9/16	BM
87.	1a4/1a3	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	10/16	JPM
88.	1a4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	9/18	JPM
89.	1a4	FIL AIMER.OZ.LVZ	12/21	GPG
90.	1a4	FIL AIMER.OZ.LVZ	13/21	BM
91.	1a4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	15/23	JPM
92.	1a4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	17/25	JPM
93.	1a4	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN	18/26	JPM
94.	1a1/1a2	HENRI.ON.LVND	20/29	JPM
95.	1a1/1a2?	HENRI.ON.LVND	21/30	BM
96.	1a2	HENRICN/S LVNDE	22/32	BIM
97.	1a4/1a2	HENRI.ON.LVND	23/33	BM
98.	1a4/1a3	HENRI.ON.LVNDE	23/34	JPM
99.	1a4	HENRI.ON.LVND	23/35	JPM
100.	1a3/1a2	HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	24/38	BM
101.	1a3/1a2	HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	24/39	JPM
102.	1a4	HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	25/40	BM
103.	1a4	HENRI.PI.ON.LVN	25/41	GPG
104.	1a4	HEN[]LVN	26/41	JPM
105.	1a1/1a2	IEFREI.ON.LVND	27/42	BM
106.	1a2	IEFREI.ON.LVND	28/45	GPG
107.	1a2/1a3?	IEFREI.ON.LVN	28/46	BM
108.	1a4	IEFREI.ON.LVND	29/47	BM
109.	1a4	IEFREI.ON.LVND	30/48	JPM
110.	1a1	IOHAN.ON.LVNDE	32/51	MRA
111.	1a1	IOHAN.ON.LVND	33/52	JPM
112.	1a1/1a2	IOHAN.ON.LVND	33/53	BM
113.	1a1/1a4?	IOHAN.O[]	34/54	JPM
114.	1a2/1a5?	IOHAN.ON.LVND	35/56	JPM
115.	1a2	PIERES.ON.LVND	36/57	JPM
116.	1a2	PIERES.ON.LVND	37/58	BM
117.	1a1/1a2	PIERESM.ON.LVN	38/59	JPM
118.	1a1/1a4?	PIERESM.ON.LVN	34/60	MRA
119.	1a1/1a5?	PIERES.M.ON.LVN	34/63	JPM
120.	1a1	RANDVL.ON.LVN	21/64	BM
121.	1a1/1a2	RANDVL.ON.LVN	21/65	JDB
122.	1a2	RANDVL.F.ON.LVN	40/66	BM
123.	1a2/1a4	[]L.OZ.LVZ	41/67	JPM
124.	1a4	RAZDV.L.OZ.LVZ	23/68	JPM
125.	1a4	RANDVL.ON.LVN	23/70	JPM
126.	1a4	RANDVL.ON.LVND	42/71	BM
127.	1a2	REINALD.ON.LVN	43/72	BM
128.	1a2/1a3?	REINALD.ON.LVN	44/73	JPM
129.	1a1	WILLE///ON.LVNDE	45/74	JPM
130.	1a2	WILLELM.ON.LVN	46/75	JPM
131.	1a2/1a3	WILLEM.ON.LVN	3/78	JPM
132.	1a2/1a3	WILLEM.ON.LVN	48/78	BM
133.	1a4	WILLELM.ON.LVN	31/79	JPM
134.	1a5	RANDVL.ON.LVN	/70	JPM
135.	1a5	TVRKIL.ON.EVER		JPM
136.	1a5	OSBER.ON.WINCE		JPM
137.	1a5	ASKETIL.ON.EXEC		JPM
138.	1a5	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN		JPM
139.	1a5	ALAIN.ON.EVERW		JPM
140.	1a5	WILLELM.ON.NOR		JPM
141.	1a5	ALAIN.ON.LVND		JPM
142.	1a5	REINALD.ON.LVN		JPM

			<i>dies</i>	
143.	Ia5	FILIP.ON.NORHT		JPM
144.	Ia5	FIL AIMER.ON.LVN		JPM
145.	Ia5	IEFREI.ON.LVND		JPM
146.	Ia5	PIERES.ON.LVN.		GPG
147.	Ib	RAVL.ON.LVNDE		JPM
148.	Ib	OSBER.ON.WINCE		JPM
149.	Ib	HVGO.ON.EVERWI		JPM
150.	III	REINALD.ON.CA		JPM
151.	Ib	PIERES.M.ON.LVN		BM
152.	Ib	ALAIN.ON.CARD		BM
153.	Ib	ROGER.ON.EXECE		JPM
154.	Ib	OSBER.ON.EXECE		JPM
155.	Ib	RICARD.ON.OXEN		JPM
156.	Ib	HVGO.ON.NORHT		JPM
157.	Ib	PIERES.M.ON.LVN		JPM
158.	Ia4	TVRKIL.ON.EVER		

[Information on several new coins has come to hand since the completion of the text of this paper.

Ia4, TURKIL.ON.EVER (no. 158; this is a new moneyer for the subtype); Ia3/Ia2, HENRI.PI.ON.LVN (same as no. 100 in the Plates); HENRI.PI.O [] (same obv. as the preceding coin, but with a new reverse in which the 'I' of Henri Pi is absent). The first two coins reside in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and were brought to my attention by Nicholas Mayhew. The third coin is in the collection of the author.]



1 2 3 4 5 6 7



8 9 10 11 12 13 14



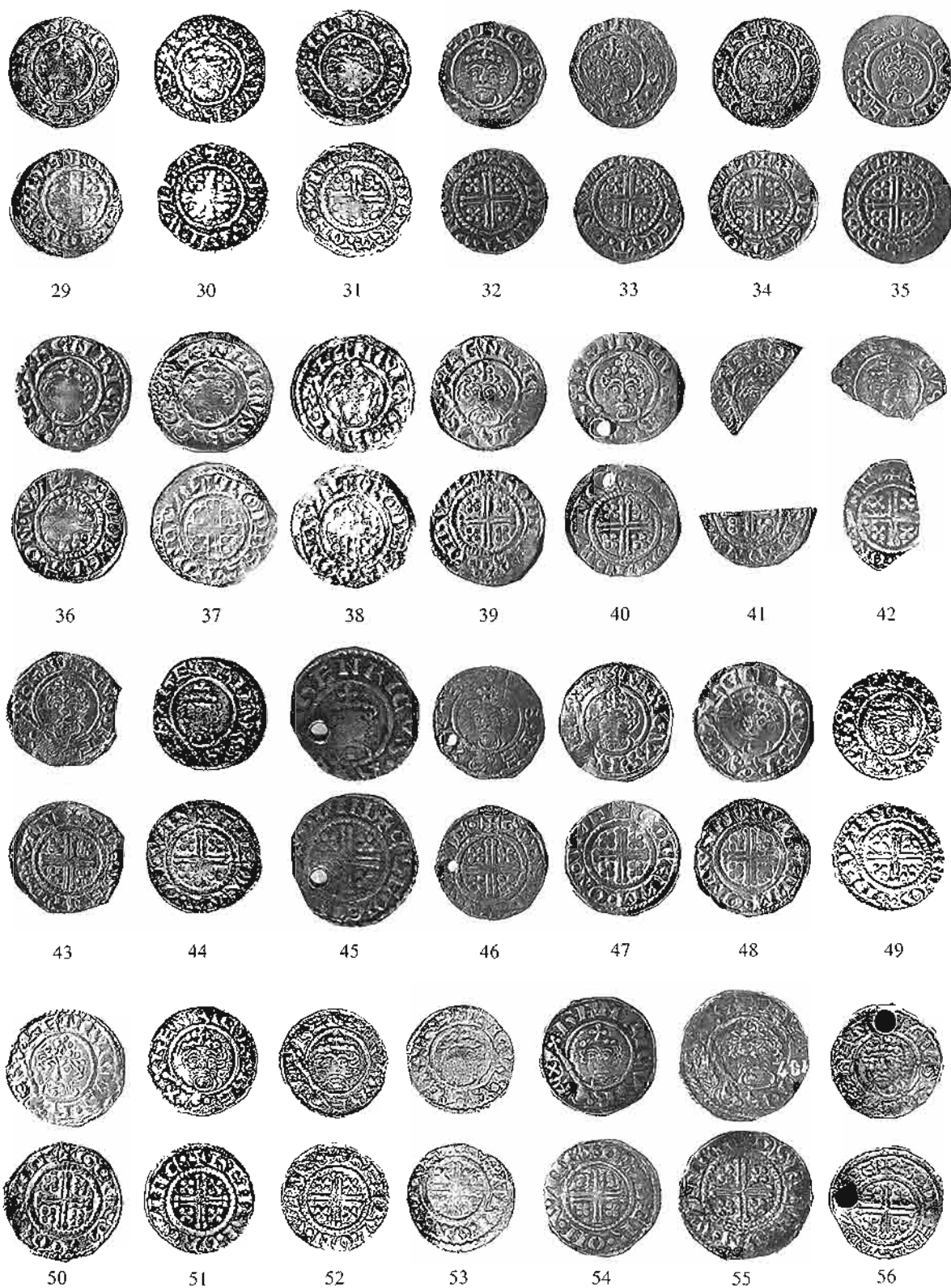
15 16 17 18 19 20 21



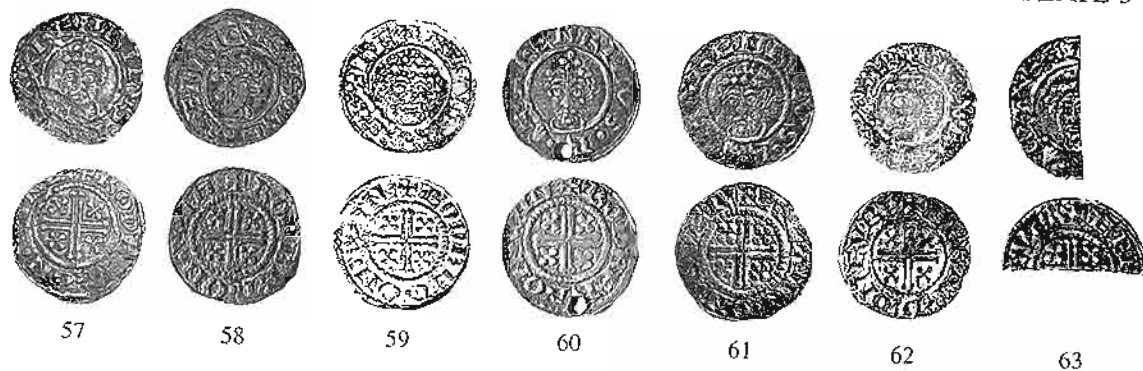
22 23 24 25 26 27 28

MASS: SHORT CROSS Ia (1)

PLATE 2



MASS: SHORT CROSS Ia (2)



MASS: SHORT CROSS Ia (3)

PLATE 4



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MASS: SHORT CROSS Ia (4)



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MASS: SHORT CROSS 1a (5)

PLATE 6



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MASS: SHORT CROSS Ia (6)

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SHORT CROSS CLASS Ia

MARTIN ALLEN

THE publication of the late John Brand's M.A. thesis on the Short Cross coinage has provided a comprehensive review of the documentary evidence needed to attempt a reconstruction of the chronology of class Ia.¹ In 1966 Brand, with F. Elmore Jones, made a major contribution to this chronology by arguing that L.A. Lawrence's class Ia was in production at the Winchester mint in July 1180,² but it is possible to go much further in the investigation of the subject.

R.W. Eyton was the first to note that the decision to issue a new coinage was taken at an Oxford session of the Curia Regis, dated by him to c. January 1180: 'in assisa apud Oxoniam quando consideratum fuit ut secunda moneta curreret'.³ Eyton did not give the source of this quotation, but it has been found to be a charter cited in a legal dispute in 1208, which only dates the Oxford Council to the twenty-sixth regnal year of Henry II (i.e. the year from 19 December 1179 to 18 December 1180).⁴ The Council must have occurred before Henry II's departure to Normandy, dated by Eyton to c. 15 April 1180.⁵ Brand was undoubtedly correct to infer that the Council probably met in February 1180, following J.H. Round's interpretation of a fine of 11 February 1180, witnessed at Oxford by all of the king's principal justiciars and four other justices.⁶ A tentative dating of the Oxford decision to February 1180 would be consistent with the departure of Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester, on an embassy to King Louis VII of France on 5 March 1180.⁷ Bishop Richard's subsequent return with the royal exchangers of Tours and Le Mans⁸ provides evidence supporting D.F. Allen's assumption that the preparation of the recoinage was one purpose of the visit,⁹ and it is relatively unlikely that the Oxford decision would have been made after the departure of a man so prominent in Henry II's financial business.¹⁰

The Oxford Council provides a probable *terminus post quem* of c. February 1180 for the introduction of class Ia, and the Winchester fire discussed by Brand and Elmore Jones provides a probable *terminus ante quem*. The *Winchester Annals* recorded a fire on the night of St. Swithin's eve 1180, which burnt the mint (*monetaria in Wintonia*), and spread to the greater and better part (*majorem partem et meliorem*) of the city.¹¹ Brand and Elmore Jones believed that the date intended by the *Winchester Annals* was the night of 1/2 July 1180,¹² but

Acknowledgements I have greatly benefited from the advice of Professor Jeffrey P. Mass, the Rt. Hon. Lord Stewartby, and Mr Christopher R. Wren, who have read drafts of this note and commented upon it. Professor Mass has very generously provided drafts of his contribution to this volume (see n.14). I also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Nicholas J. Mayhew, for the provision of a copy of the late Dr John D. Brand's M.A. thesis before publication (see n.1).

¹ J.D. Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247: Money, Mint and Exchange* (British Numismatic Soc. Special Publication 1, London, 1994).

² J.D. Brand and F. Elmore Jones, 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton in 1180', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 116–19.

³ R.W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II* (London, 1878), p. 230 n. 4.

⁴ C.T. Flower, *Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls, 1199–1230 A.D.* (Selden Soc. 62, 1943), p. 50.

⁵ Eyton, p. 231.

⁶ Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 24; J.H. Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895), p. 433.

⁷ Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 231.

⁸ *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normaniae sub Regibus Angliae*, edited by T. Stapleton (2 vols, London, 1840–4), I, p. 38.

⁹ D.F. Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum: The Cross-and-Crosslets (Tealby) Type of Henry II* (London, 1951), p. lxxxix.

¹⁰ W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), pp. 311–13, discusses Richard of Ilchester's role in the reorganization of the financial administration of Normandy, and his importance as a special Baron of the Exchequer.

¹¹ *Annales de Wintonia in Annales Monastici*, edited by H.R. Luard (5 vols, Rolls Series 36, 1864–9), II, p. 62.

¹² Brand and Elmore Jones, 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton', 116–17.

it might also have been 14/15 July.¹³ They proposed that Lawrence's class Ia was in production in Winchester before the fire, and that the Wilton mint was a temporary replacement for the Winchester mint after the fire, using dies brought from Winchester. Evidence provided by the application of the revised definition and new subdivisions of class Ia introduced in this volume by Jeffrey Mass requires a re-examination of these proposals.¹⁴ All of the five new subdivisions of class Ia were produced in both Winchester and Wilton (with the single exception of class Ia3 at Wilton), and the class Ia1 reverse die of the moneyer Rodbert with an unaltered Wilton mint-signature is earlier than his two dies altered from WIN to WIL (which are attributable to class Ia2 and class Ia4 or a later variety, respectively).¹⁵ The supply of the class Ia1 reverse die of Rodbert, and the opening of the Wilton mint, evidently preceded the apparent disruption of the activity of the Winchester mint associated with the fire by Brand and Elmore Jones. The disruption, if it was a single event, almost certainly occurred during the production of class Ia2: the three obverse dies apparently transferred from Winchester to Wilton were of classes Ia1 and Ia2, and the Winchester moneyer Henri is only known from a reverse die of class Ia2.¹⁶ It cannot be demonstrated that the fire directly caused the alteration of Rodbert's class Ia2 reverse die, the apparent transfer of dies, or the termination of the coinage of Henri, but the cumulative evidence for a fire-related disruption at the Winchester mint during the supply of class Ia2 dies is strong.

Brand and Elmore Jones's assumption that the Wilton moneyers Osber and Rodbert were also moneyers in Winchester may be justifiable, although only Rodbert is known to have used Winchester reverse dies altered for use in Wilton. The 1183/4 Pipe Roll recorded a debt of two marks owed by 'Osbertus monetarius de Wilton', for the use of the mint building (*domus*) in Winchester 'where the moneyers work' (*ubi monetarii operantur*).¹⁷ It might be concluded that 'Osbertus' worked as a moneyer in Winchester as well as in Wilton, although this conclusion seems to be contradicted by the expansion of the Winchester moneyer's name to 'Osbern' on a class Ia1 reverse die.¹⁸ It is possible that either this reverse die or the Pipe Roll recorded the name incorrectly.¹⁹

One or more of the exchangers associated with Winchester during the introduction of the Short Cross coinage may also have operated in Wilton, although none of the relatively plentiful Pipe Roll references to the costs of exchanging name Wilton.²⁰ The Winchester mint and exchange may have had a subsidiary operation in Wilton, unparalleled in 1180, as part of Winchester's central role in the organization of the recoinage.²¹ The Hampshire account in the

¹³ *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by M. Biddle (Winchester Studies 1, London, 1976), p. 419 n. 8.

¹⁴ J.P. Mass, 'Of Dies, Design Changes, and Square Lettering in the Opening Phase of the Short Cross Coinage', *BNJ* 63 (1993), 20–52.

¹⁵ Mass, pp. 36–38.

¹⁶ Mass, pp. 38.

¹⁷ *Pipe Roll 30 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc. 33, 1912), p. 85.

¹⁸ Mass, 'Of Dies, Design Changes, and Square Lettering', 23.

¹⁹ The Winchester moneyer 'Osbern', named consistently by coins of classes III and IVa, may not be the same man as the 'Osber(n)' of classes Ia and Ib. I am very grateful to Dr David Crook of the Public Record Office for confirmation of the reading of the name on the 1183/4 Pipe Roll (E 372/30, r. 6d). The 1184/5 Pipe Roll (*Pipe Roll 31 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc. 34, 1913), p. 192) records a debt incurred by the borough of Wilton, concerning 'Osberto monetario'.

²⁰ Brunus Burdin and Mansellus (see below, p. 56), and also Walter f. Geroldi and Rolland, were exchangers in Winchester at various times.

²¹ W.J. Andrew, 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I (1100–1135)', *NC* 4th ser. 1 (1901), 1–502, at pp. 407 and 449 assumed that the Wilton moneyers were often seconded from the Winchester mint, in and before the reign of Henry I. J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage Volume I Early Anglo-Saxon to Henry III c. 600–1272*, 3rd edn. (London, 1994), pp. 148, 150, 158, 166–7, 177–8, 186, 196, 201, 206 and 218 lists thirty-nine unequivocally different moneyers' names for Wilton before the Short Cross coinage, some of which may represent more than one man at different times (most notably 'Thurcil' in the reign of Edward the Confessor and the equivalent name 'Turchil' in the reign of Henry I). Only thirteen of these thirty-nine names are known from coins of Wilton and Winchester in the same reign, and it cannot be assumed that all of the appearances of a name at both mints indicate the sharing of a moneyer. The name 'Willem' found on Henry III Long Cross coins of both mints refers to 'Willelmus filius Radulfi' or 'Willelmus Mauger' at Wilton, and 'Willelmus Prior' at Winchester (*The De Moneta of Nicholas Oresme and English Mint Documents*, translated and edited by C. Johnson (London, 1956), pp. 100 and 104).

1179/80 Pipe Roll, evidently with reference to Winchester, records the sending of treasure to various places to make the (new) money (*ad faciendum (novam) monetam*), and the despatch of materials to the mints or moneyers of England (*monetariis Anglie*).²² The same roll also records the sending of dies from Winchester to Oxford and Northampton, and back to Winchester,²³ which caused Brand to suggest plausibly that dies were being made in Winchester.²⁴

The opening of the Wilton mint might possibly have been prompted by Wilton's status as an important royal borough.²⁵ If the absence of explicit documentary references to exchanging in Wilton was caused by an actual absence of paid exchangers, it is conceivable that the mint was primarily for the king's use, sharing moneyers with another royal centre (namely, Winchester).²⁶ D.F. Allen suggested that the Oxford mint was not associated with any exchangers, because it was opened during the recoinage to provide the king with new money.²⁷

After the Winchester fire the next, problematic, evidence for the chronology of class Ia is provided by the coins and documented activities of Philip Aimer. This important exchanger and moneyer, described as a native of Tours (*natione Turonicus*) by Ralph de Diceto,²⁸ was probably the exchanger of Tours who accompanied Richard of Ilchester on his return to England in the summer of 1180. Eyton believed that Bishop Richard remained in Normandy until July, witnessing a charter dated by Eyton to c. July 1180.²⁹ Brand was probably correct to assume that Philip Aimer's arrival, and hence his coins, should be dated after the Winchester fire.³⁰ The class Ia1 reverse die of 'Aimer' recorded by Mass³¹ was almost certainly supplied to Philip's son before the fire,³² and the earliest of Philip's own 'Fił Aimer' reverse dies, attributable to class Ia3,³³ were probably supplied between the fire and about the end of August. Philip's first dated period of payment as an exchanger began on 29 August 1180,³⁴ and his class Ia3 reverse dies may have been provided at about that time, to convert some or all of the silver he received into the new money. Certainly, the payment of melters (*fusores*) from dates in September at two places where exchangers were paid from 29 August³⁵ is consistent with the conversion of accumulated silver after an initial period of using a 'float'.³⁶ It is possible that Philip received his class Ia3 dies after August 1180, but a tentative date of c. July/August for the production of class Ia3 dies would be compatible with evidence discussed below.

The first dated payment of Philip Aimer was part of a series of payments to twelve exchangers from 29 or 31 August to 6 October 1180, recorded in the 1179/80 Pipe Roll. These payments may relate to the first period of a new system of exchanging, following the arrival of

²² *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc. 29, 1908), p. 131.

²³ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 136.

²⁴ Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 31.

²⁵ *A History of Wiltshire Vol. VI*, edited by E. Crittall (Victoria County History, London, 1962), pp. 7–9, provides a convenient summary of the development of Wilton as a royal borough, held by the king or his family until the fourteenth century.

²⁶ I owe this suggestion to Lord Stewartby.

²⁷ Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins*, p. xci.

²⁸ *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Londoniensis Opera Historica*, edited by W. Stubbs (2 vols., Roll Series, London, 1876), II, p. 7.

²⁹ Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary*, pp. 231 and 233.

³⁰ J.D. Brand, 'Philip Aimer – Exchanger and Moneyer', *NCirc* October 1973, 371–2.

³¹ Mass, 'Of Dies, Design Changes, and Square Lettering', pp. 40–1

³² *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc. 30, 1909), p. 81, records a payment to 'Aimer the son of Philipp' (*Aimeri filii Philippi*).

³³ Mass, pp. 40–2. It might be argued that 'Fił Aimer' was intended to indicate Philip Aimer's son, but the son was 'fili[us] Philippi' (see note 32), not 'filius Aimeri'. 'Filip(e)', not 'Aimer', would probably have been the designation of Philip Aimer on his coins if he had not used 'Fił Aimer'.

³⁴ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 8.

³⁵ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 62 and 82.

³⁶ J.D. Brand, 'The Shrewsbury Mint, 1249–1250', in *Mints, Dies and Currency: Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Albert Baldwin*, edited by R.A.G. Carson (London, 1971), pp. 129–50, at pp. 130–4 discusses a record of assays which, he argued, may possibly provide evidence of the conversion of silver into new coins beginning five days after the opening of an exchange primed with a float.

Philip, who took up the management of the recoinage (*nummismatis innovandi procurationem suscepit*), according to Diceto.³⁷ Before this period ordinary moneyers may have been allowed to exchange the products of their own dies, as they had done before the recoinage.³⁸

None of the dated payments of 29/31 August to 6 October were specifically stated to be for exchanging in a particular place, but five centres of exchanging can be identified (leaving the possible activities of exchangers in Wilton as a matter of speculation): London, Exeter, Northampton, Winchester and York. The payments in the accounts of the honour of Berkhamstead, and London and Middlesex,³⁹ were almost certainly for exchanging in London, and there was a separate undated payment to Philip Aimer explicitly for that purpose (*ad faciendum cambium Regis apud Lond'*).⁴⁰ The Devon payment and associated costs of exchanging are immediately followed in the roll by expenses incurred in Exeter Castle,⁴¹ and treasure was sent to Exeter to make the (new) money (*ad monetam faciendum*).⁴² The exchangers paid in the Northamptonshire account⁴³ received an undated payment in another account, stated to be for the exchangers of Northampton (*cambitoribus Regis de Norh'*).⁴⁴ Brand believed that the payment of Brunus Burdin and Mansellus in the Hampshire account⁴⁵ was for exchanging in Lincoln, because the 1180/1 Pipe Roll recorded that they took treasure from Northampton to Lincoln,⁴⁶ but J.H. Round more plausibly suggested that they were employed in Winchester.⁴⁷ There were undated payments for exchanging in Winchester (*ad faciendum cambium Regis apud Wintoniam*) in other accounts.⁴⁸ Finally, the Yorkshire payment is followed in the roll by exchanging expenses which include the cost of transporting treasure to York.⁴⁹

The five securely identified places of exchange of the 29/31 August to 6 October 1180 payments correspond with five of the six places of production of class Ia, as it has been redefined, and with none of the mints subsequently opened for the production of class Ib (i.e. Carlisle, Lincoln, Oxford and Worcester). Class Ib mints could have operated without having exchanging costs recorded in the 1179/80 Pipe Roll, but it may be suggested that class Ib was not yet in production on 6 October 1180.

There is a significant gap in the recorded payments to exchangers between 6 October and 11 (or, in one case, 12) November 1180. In the 1180/1 Devon account 11 November was called the day on which exchanging (or the local exchange at Exeter) began (*quo cambium incepit*).⁵⁰ Brand and Elmore Jones were right to caution that the Pipe Rolls probably only provide an incomplete record of the exchangers' fees,⁵¹ but the gap evidently indicates a real cessation of the exchangers' work. During this period of inactivity the exchanges were reorganized. When the payments resume several exchangers seem to have moved,⁵² four previously unrecorded exchangers' names appear,⁵³ and new exchanges in Nottingham, Norwich and Worcester seem to have been added to the five reliably identified for the earlier dated payments.

A payment to exchangers for the period 11 November 1180 to 12 April 1181 in the 1180/1 Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire account⁵⁴ was referred to Lincoln by Brand,⁵⁵ but it is part of

³⁷ *Radulfi de Diceto*, II, p. 7.

³⁸ N.J. Mayhew, 'From Regional to Central Minting, 1180–1464', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 83–178, at pp. 85–95 reviews the status and activities of moneyers before and during their loss of their exchanging role in the 1180 recoinage.

³⁹ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 8 and 150.

⁴⁰ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 144.

⁴¹ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 89–90.

⁴² *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 131.

⁴³ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 82.

⁴⁴ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 58.

⁴⁵ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 131.

⁴⁶ Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 27; *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. xxviii.

⁴⁸ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 30 and 148.

⁴⁹ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 62.

⁵⁰ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, pp. xxii and 27; Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins*, pp. lxxxix–xc.

⁵¹ Brand and Elmore Jones, 'The Emergency Mint of Wilton', 116; Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 26 n. 28.

⁵² Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, pp. 28–30 provides a review of the evidence.

⁵³ Brand, 'Philip Aimer', p. 372.

⁵⁴ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 11.

⁵⁵ Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 29.

a set of *cambium* expenses preceded and followed in the roll by other expenses incurred in Nottingham. There are payments elsewhere in the 1180/1 roll for the taking of treasure to Nottingham for exchanging there (*ad faciendum (ibi) cambium*).⁵⁶ Payments to Philip Aimer in the 1179/80 Norfolk and Suffolk account *ad faciendum cambium*⁵⁷ need not have been for exchanging in Norwich, but payments for 11 November 1180 to 12 April 1181 in the following year's Norfolk and Suffolk account⁵⁸ may well have been. These 1180/1 payments are followed in the roll by the cost of carrying treasure, *ad faciendum cambium* and sent to London on many occasions (*missi Lond' multis vicibus*),⁵⁹ suggesting that an exchange in Norwich was supplied with new money and repeatedly sent old money or other silver exchanged to London in return. Payments for 11 November 1180 to 24 December 1180, 11 November 1180 to 12 April 1181 and 12 April 1181 to 29 September 1181 in the Worcestershire account, with payments for the carriage of treasure to and from Worcester *ad cambium faciendum*,⁶⁰ indicate the existence of an exchange in Worcester.

Exchanging could have begun in Worcester without the opening of a mint, as seems to have occurred in Nottingham and Norwich. However, it may be suggested that the Worcester mint probably began its production of class Ib in November 1180, as part of a reorganization of exchanging and minting associated with the prohibition of the old (Cross-and-Crosslets or Tealby) money, from 11 November 1180, recorded by 'Benedict of Peterborough' and Diceto.⁶¹

There is no convincing evidence for the existence before 11 November of any of the mints starting production with class Ib. The reference to the sending of dies from Winchester to Oxford and then Northampton, and back to Winchester, in the Pipe Roll compiled after Michaelmas (29 September) 1180,⁶² does not necessarily imply the existence or imminence of minting in Oxford.⁶³ Similarly, the sending of treasure to Worcester for an unspecified purpose, also recorded in the 1179/80 roll,⁶⁴ does not have to be interpreted as evidence of the establishment of a mint before 11 November. It is probable that production of class Ib dies began between the end of the first period of employment of exchangers at class Ia minting-places on 6 October, and the opening of new exchanges on 11 November.

The evidence discussed so far, and some tentative inferences, can be conveniently summarized in a table.

<i>Dates (in 1180)</i>	<i>Evidence/Events</i>	<i>Inferences</i>
c. February	Council of Oxford	Ia1 introduced, and superseded by Ia2
c. February–July		
1/2 or 14/15 July	Winchester fire	Ia2 in production in Winchester
July (?)–29 August	Arrival of Philip Aimer	Ia3 introduced July or August?
29 August–6 October	First period of exchangers at Ia minting-places	Ia3, Ia4, or Ia5 dies in production 6 October
6 October–11 November	No dated payments to exchangers	Ib introduced during a reorganization of exchanges
11 November	Second period of exchangers begins; probable exchange and mint in Worcester	Ib in production

⁵⁶ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, pp. 51 and 156.

⁵⁷ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 15 and 24.

⁵⁸ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 81.

⁵⁹ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 81.

⁶⁰ *Pipe Roll 27 Henry II*, p. 20.

⁶¹ Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins*, pp. lxxiii–iv and xcii.

⁶² *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 136.

⁶³ Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 27, assumes

that treasure intended to prime an exchange was sent to Oxford 'almost certainly before Michaelmas 1180 and perhaps during the summer', citing a payment recorded in *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, pp. 130–1, 'pro locandis caretis ad portandum thesaurum ad Oxineford mittendum monetariis de Euerwich'. However, this treasure was carried to Oxford 'to be sent' (*mittendum*) to the moneyers of York.

⁶⁴ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II*, p. 131.

The numbers of obverse dies found by Mass may provide some equivocal evidence for a refinement of the chronology. Dies could have been supplied and used at widely fluctuating rates during 1180, but the potential evidence of numbers of dies must still be considered. Mass has recorded 31 obverse dies of class Ia1, 34 of Ia2, only 3 of Ia3, and 42 of Ia4.⁶⁵ He has identified at least 17 Ia3 reverse dies, but it may be tentatively suggested that Ia3 was of relatively short duration, and that the other types may have had longer, very approximately equal durations. A speculative chronology consistent with Mass's statistics and the other evidence discussed may have some limited usefulness.

Classification of Dies

Tentative Dating of Die-Production (in 1180)

Ia1	c. May/June–June/July
Ia2	c. June/July–July/August
Ia3	c. July/August
Ia4	c. July/August–September/October
Ia5	c. September/October–October/November

Pipe Roll references to exchangers' salaries indicate that the recoinage was substantially completed by Easter (28 March) 1182, and the last dated payment to an exchanger ended at Michaelmas 1182.⁶⁶ If, following my tentative chronology, about three to five months are allowed for the production of a minimum of 111 obverse dies of classes Ia1 to Ia4 (the total number of dies recorded by Mass), the minimum number of obverse dies required for approximately two years of recoinage might be estimated to have been between c. 533 ($24/5 \times 111$) and c. 888 ($24/3 \times 111$). These speculative calculations depend upon the assumption that the rate of die-production was constant, but the rate may have increased when mints were opened for the production of class Ib, and decreased towards the end of the recoinage. Nevertheless, it is instructive to compare my estimates with D.M. Metcalf's partly conjectural estimate of the number of obverse dies used to produce the Cross-and-Crosslets coinage (1,044).⁶⁷ It can be assumed that some of the Cross-and-Crosslets money produced since 1158 would no longer have been available for recoinage in 1180 or later,⁶⁸ reducing the potential need for Short Cross dies, but the minting of imported silver and other bullion would have had a contrary effect on the consumption of dies. Thus it is quite possible that between c. 533 and c. 888 obverse dies, or slightly more, would have been required to coin the old money and other silver offered at the exchanges during two years of recoinage. It may be concluded that the proposed tentative chronology is consistent with the evidence of die statistics, although it must be acknowledged that this evidence is too speculative to be decisive.

⁶⁵ Mass, 'Of Dies, Design Changes, and Square Lettering', *passim*. Mass has not systematically recorded Ia5 obverse dies for all of the Ia mints. The numbers of reverse dies are more problematic than the numbers of obverse dies, as many reverses cannot be definitively classified.

⁶⁶ *Pipe Roll 28 Henry II* (Pipe Roll Soc. 31, 1910), pp. xxiii and 146; Brand, *The English Coinage 1180–1247*, p. 30; I. Stewart, 'King John's Recoinage and the Conference of Moneyers in 1208', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 39–45, at p. 42.

⁶⁷ D.M. Metcalf, 'A Survey of Numismatic Research into the Pennies of the First Three Edwards (1279–1344) and their Continental Imitations', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1279–1344): A Symposium held in Oxford, August 1976*, edited by N.J. Mayhew (BAR 36, Oxford, 1977), pp. 1–31, at pp. 6–7 and 26–31. Metcalf estimated the number of dies not represented in Allen, *A Catalogue of English Coins*, assuming that the unrepresented dies had the same average output as the represented dies. He was almost certainly right to believe that

the unrepresented dies had a lower average output, and the number of unrepresented dies actually used would have been higher than the estimated number in consequence.

⁶⁸ M.M. Archibald, 'Wastage from Currency: Long-Cross and the Recoinage of 1279', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs*, pp. 167–186, estimates that at least a million pounds from a total of about £1,683,270 to £1,729,182 of Long Cross pennies produced between 1247 and 1278 was lost from currency before it could be exchanged in the subsequent recoinage. P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 161, 229–30, 390 and 403 discusses the export of Long Cross money to the Rhineland by Richard of Cornwall, its imitation there, and the Brussels hoard containing over 80,000 Long Cross pennies; all of which have no parallels in the Cross-and-Crosslets coinage. However, the aggregate wastage of Cross-and-Crosslets coins through export, melting, hoarding and accidental loss, during a period of circulation similar to that of the Long Cross coinage, cannot be entirely disregarded.

YORK ANNULET SILVER COINS OF HENRY VI

MARVIN LESSEN

RECENT hoards from Reigate¹ and Ryther² have offered a good opportunity to catalogue the Annulet type of silver coins issued briefly from the York mint early in the reign of Henry VI; to differentiate dies; and to estimate the volume of coinage for each denomination. The six York coins in these two hoards were a third again as many as had been known previously.

History and chronology

To review the familiar background from Ruding:³ Bartholomew Goldbeter was master of the Mint and worker of the monies of gold and silver for London and Calais under Henry V, and he was continued in office by Henry VI's parliament of 9 November 1422. In the same parliament authorization was given for masters and workmen to coin money and hold the exchanges in York and Bristol (Goldbeter was not named, but was probably meant). An indenture of 16 February 1422/3 authorized Goldbeter to coin at York and Bristol, and this seems to be a formal confirmation of the November parliamentary ruling. Brooke mentioned that a controller and assayer, and also a warden were appointed for York in July 1423.⁴ The parliament that began 20 October 1423 continued him as master, and appointed him to hold the exchange at York in addition to his office as master of the Mint in the Tower of London. In that same parliament, but it is not clear at what date, a northern counties petition stated that the master and his workmen had been to York, did their work, and then retired; the situation had deteriorated, and they wanted him back. The petition, which was granted, went on to request that all deficient gold should be brought to the castle at York to be coined before the next feast of St Michael (presumed to mean 29 September 1424).

The major writers on the coinage of Henry VI, such as Hawkins, Walters, Brooke, Whitton and Potter, have all used or referred to the Ruding material.⁵ The 20th of October has often

Acknowledgements are to Dr Barrie Cook of the British Museum, for his preliminary data on the Reigate II hoard, and for photographs of theirs and the Ryther coins; Craig Barclay of the Yorkshire Museum for his preliminary data on the Ryther hoard; Nicholas Mayhew of the Ashmolean Museum for information and photographs of their holdings; Dr Donal Bateson of the Hunterian Museum for information and photographs of their coin; Patrick Finn of Spink & Son; Dr C.E. Challis of Leeds University; Dr Peter Gaspar for review and suggestions; Dr R.E. Ockenden for a confirming translation of the northern counties petition; and Mark Blackburn of the Fitzwilliam Museum for searching their collection, including Blunt's coins. Photographs of the British, Ashmolean, and Hunterian Museum coins are their copyright, and are reproduced with their permission.

¹ Reigate II, Surrey, hoard of 1990, from an unpublished British Museum list of the contents by Barrie Cook. The sale of the hoard was at Glendining's 8 December 1992, and included three of the five York coins; the other two were retained by the British Museum.

² Ryther, near Cawood, North Yorkshire, hoard of April 1992, from an unpublished list of the annulet coins by Craig Barclay. This was a most unusual hoard, in that only 4 per cent

of the coins were of the annulet type, and 76 per cent of those annulet coins were pennies. There was one York annulet penny.

³ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 1840, 267–270 (from the Rolls of Parliament, or *Rotuli Parliamentorum; ut ei Petitiones et Placita In Parlamento Tempore Henrici R.V., Vol. IV* (1767–77), pp. 197–200. Apparently Ruding's translations were complete).

⁴ G.C. Brooke, 'A find of nobles at Borth (Cardiganshire)', *NC* 5th ser. 11 (1931), 59, but his source for this was not indicated.

⁵ F.A. Walters in 'The silver coinage of the reign of Henry VI', *NC* 4th ser. 2 (1902), 228, followed E. Hawkins, *The Silver Coins of England* (1887), p. 228 in using York to define the chronology of the annulet coinage. Walters did not know coinage figures until he wrote 'The Stamford find and supplementary notes on the coinage of Henry VI', *NC* 4th ser. 11 (1911), 19. Brooke, 'A find of nobles at Borth', pp. 59–60 used the lack of a broken letter P on York nobles to help define the entire Annulet issue, and he assumed the dates of August to October 1423 for the York production. C.A. Whitton in 'The heavy coinage of Henry VI', *BNJ* 23 (1941), 65, estimated that the coinage ended about 23 December 1423, based on a lack of the broken letter R, which he considered a privy mark for the next year. W.J.W. Potter, 'The heavy groats of Henry VI', *BNJ* 28 (1958), 299–304, also discussed die usage for the Calais coins.

been thought of as the termination date of the coinage. Yet the records imply a gold coinage between 12 August 1423 and 14 August 1424, and a silver one between 30 September 1423 and 7 August 1424.⁶

The York mint was opened as a temporary measure, mainly for the re-coinage of the region's inferior circulating gold specie. Most likely the dies were made at the Tower, and this could have been done quickly and easily by experienced workmen. It can only be said that Goldbeter may have started coining gold at York in August and silver in September, and perhaps he was gone by mid-October 1423, or mid-August 1424. The starting dates may be reasonably correct, but the end dates remain questionable. When, after the opening of the 20 October parliament, was this northern counties petition actually presented or written? Was it really around 20 October, and can that therefore represent a final date? Did the workers ever return to reopen the mint and, if so, when, and was it for gold, or silver, or both? The recorded end dates of August 1424 may have been only book-keeping formalities with no relation to actual production. On the other hand they could represent what was a sporadic coinage over a period of a year.

Quantity of coinage

The weight of sterling coined at York between 30 September 1423 and 7 August 1424 was 330 lbs Tower, 4 oz, 10 dwt (330.375 lbs Tower).⁷ This is equivalent to 1,784,025 grains, or about £496. The minimum number of coins that could have been produced was 29,734 groats, had only groats been made. Gold coinage figures are recorded in the amount of £42,310 between 12 August 1423 and 14 August 1424.⁷

The following table lists the total number of non-York Annulet silver coins from several hoards,⁸ and the percentage of the total for each denomination. This is done to see if the figures can be applied to help estimate the number of York coins made of each type.

Mint	Total Annulet coins	Percentage of total (rounded)				
		4d	2d	1d	½d	¼d
London	270	83	14	3	0	0
Calais	3136	77	21	2	0	0
Sum	3406	78	20	2	0	0

Most of the coins are from Reigate I and II (91 per cent). Annulet pennies of London and/or Calais were present only in Reigate II with 44, Wyre Piddle with one, and Ryther with 24 (plus one of York), and none of the hoards had any smaller coins. For this type of estimation,

⁶ Dr C.E. Challis re-examined PRO E364/58 rot.3V, 'The Account of Thomas Haxey, late warden of the Mint in York', and kindly supplied the recorded dates and the weights coined.

⁷ Challis. Weights were recorded in 925 sterling silver, i.e., weight coined, not 1000 bullion silver. In C.E. Challis (ed), *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 682, he converted the weight to £496. These coinage figures have been confused and variously published both as pound weight and as pound sterling by different writers. Walters in 1911 was correct (within one ounce), but Stokes did not include York, and both Brooke and Whitton were wrong.

⁸ The few hoards that have been recorded fully, or at least reasonably well are: Reigate II, unpublished list by B.J. Cook; Ryther, unpublished list by C. Barclay; Reigate I, M.M. Archibald, 'The Reigate hoard', *BNJ* 48 (1978), 80-96; Wyre Piddle, M.M. Archibald, 'The Wyre Piddle (Worcs.) 1967 hoard', *NC* 7th ser. 10 (1970), 133-62; list of hoards in N.J. Mayhew, 'The monetary background to the Yorkist recoinage of 1464-71', *BNJ* 44 (1974), 62-73; J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600-1500* (1956); Hampshire (Inventory 183), Reculver (Inventory 310), Diss (Inventory 120), Aberdeen (Inventory 5).

the hoards are not of great help for anything less than halfgroats. Hoards show what was hoarded, not what was made, and the larger coins were usually those most practical to store. So it would be wrong to claim that 78 per cent of the coins made were groats, or 2 per cent were pennies, but it is of interest to see how the use of these figures will compare with other methods later on. Applying 78, 20 and 2 per cent to the £496 of York sterling gives about 23,200 groats, 11,900 halfgroats, and 2,400 pennies.

The catalogue below lists three obverse dies for the groat, and two each for the halfgroat, penny, and halfpenny. If the general figure of 10,000 coins for each obverse die is used, then there could have been about 30,000 groats, and 20,000 each of the other denominations, but these numbers are far too high. With our small sample size, it is unlikely that coins have been found from all of the obverse dies, and more dies would even increase those numbers. The figure of 10,000 coins for each obverse die is one of several that has evolved over the years, and may be useful under some circumstances, such as for an extensive coinage. Here it is questionable, especially for the denominations below the groat. And surely on a small coinage such as this, the use or output of any one die could not be expected to be very similar to that of another. We cannot have seen all of the reverse dies either, if one presumes two or three reverse dies for each obverse die, although reverse dies do not play a part in these calculations.

Even after qualifying all of this, it does not seem too unreasonable to suggest a production figure of some 20,000 groats, and maybe half that for each of the other denominations. Still, 10,000 pennies and halfpennies seems high. This implies die useage in the region of 5,000 coins/obverse die. Perhaps the coinage anticipated was larger than that which was actually struck, and more dies were prepared (and underused) than were really necessary.

Catalogue

Searches for the extant coins included the museums noted in the acknowledgement, illustrated auction sale catalogues, and the major fixed price lists. Fortunately these coins were normally pictured when they appeared for sale. There probably have been private treaty sales from new finds in recent years that went unrecorded, and old coin 6 only appeared at the last moment, but it is supposed that very few unlisted coins exist above ground today, and the catalogue may be considered to be fairly complete (80 per cent?). There are 24 coins recorded from 25 different dies.

Where possible, die flaws have been examined in order to sequence the coins, even though it is very difficult to trace a tiny flaw from Polaroid photographs or catalogue plates. At the same time flaws are often necessary to help identify a die. There is no certain evidence of excessive die wear, but groat obverse 1 does degrade. All in all the dies do not appear to have been overused, although further finds could change that view. The groat weighed 60 gr (3.89 g) in 1423, and was reduced to 48 gr (3.11g) in 1464. Clipping because of this should be kept in mind when looking at the weights of coins with hoard dates, and often there is wear from use, a condition most visible on the groats.

The initial mark on all of the obverse dies and the groat reverse is the pierced cross type II. None of the other denominations has a reverse i.m. All coins have a lis on either side of the king's neck. If there was a significance in this mark being different from the analogous annulets on the London and Calais coins, it is not known. There is an annulet in the first and third quarters (heraldically the second and third quarters) of all reverse dies. Legends are identical for each die within a denomination.

Die axis is defined as the reverse long cross relative to the obverse pierced cross. Die numbering is arbitrary. The numbers 1-23, by which the coins are referred, correspond to the plate designations.

Groats

There are 13 coins from three obverse and seven reverse dies. The bust is Potter's type A2, or 'old bust',⁹ and there is a fleur on the breast cusp.

Obverse: (im) HENRIC x DI x GRA x REX x ANGLIE x Z x FRANC

The Z is reversed. The contraction mark above the first stop has not been visible, and is only assumed here, because it is present on the London and Calais coins.

Reverse: (im) POSVI o/DEVM x A/DIVTOR/E x MEVM/

CIVI/TAS x/EBO/RACI o/

There is an annulet after POSVI and after RACI.

Obverse die 1 coins can be sequenced by flaws about the lis, but more importantly by a die crack that develops at the bottom right of the crown and spreads toward the legend. There are several other flaws, which seem to be in the same state on all five coins. Coins 1 and 2 are in a state similar to each other, and they preceded coin 3, which preceded coin 4.

The coins from obverse die 2 are clipped or worn, and their listing is intended to be in the order that they were struck.

Obverse die 3 exhibits far less change, and the only obvious flaws are a group of pits by the right jaw. The pits look like rust, something hard to imagine for the short time period that these dies were in use (or were they in sporadic use for a year?). Surface rust could form rapidly, but these appear to be deep. The sequence of obverse 3 is based on this flaw, with uncertainties from using catalogue illustrations. Coins 8–10 have the flaw, and coins 11 and 12 have the most extensive state of that flaw.

Coins from obverse dies 1 and 2 show considerably more wear than those from die 3. This is surprising, since all coins are considered to have been struck within the same short period.

The reverse dies lack distinguishing features, except for die 3, which had or developed a flaw on the inner arm of the long cross opposite TAS. The use of common reverse dies with obverses 1 and 3 implies that reverse dies were in a pool and were used randomly throughout the coinage.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 1. (**pl. 7, 1**) British Museum, from the Holwell hoard of 1864.¹⁰ 50.62 gr (3.28g). The hoard deposit was c. 1450.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 2. (**pl. 7, 2**) British Museum, from the Holwell hoard of 1864.¹⁰ 56.95 gr (3.69g). This coin was struck after coin 10, based on a reverse die flaw. The hoard deposit was c. 1450.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 2. (**pl. 7, 3**) Lessen, from Spink 1981, likely a then recent find. 51.15 gr (3.31g), 80°.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 3. (**pl. 7, 4**) Lessen, Reigate II, Glendining (248). 52.90 gr (3.43g), 145°. The hoard deposit was c. 1455.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 3. (**pl. 8, 4A**) Patrick Finn List, Spring 1994 (293), *ex* Dupree collection. 50.2 gr (3.25g).

Obverse die 2./Reverse die 5. (**pl. 7, 5**) Reigate II, Glendining (247). The hoard deposit was c. 1455.

Obverse die 2./Reverse die 5. (**pl. 7, 6**) Richard Hodgkinson collection, Spink Auction 98, 16 June 1993 (7). 46.96 gr (3.043g).

⁹ Potter, 'The heavy groats of Henry VI', p. 299.

¹⁰ M.M. Archibald, 'Re-dating the Holwell, Leics. hoard in the light of a parcel of coins in the British Museum', *Coin Hoards V* (1979), 110–112.

Obverse die 2./Reverse die 4. (pl. 7, 7) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, from E.J. Winstanley, *ex* Walters 1913 (315), from the Stamford hoard, bought from the Stamford Institute in 1910 and, according to Walters, probably the only York coin from the 1868 hoard of 3,000 groats. 48.30 gr (3.13g). The hoard deposit was *c.* 1465.

Obverse die 3./Reverse die 6. (pl. 7, 8) Sotheby 20 February 1974 (367). It is not entirely clear if this has the flaw (pitting).

Obverse die 3./Reverse die 2. (pl. 7, 9) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, *ex* Lockett 1956 (1514). 56.48 gr (3.66g).

Obverse die 3./Reverse die 2. (pl. 7, 10) British Museum, from Reigate II. 58.18 gr (3.77g). The hoard deposit was *c.* 1455.

Obverse die 3./Reverse die 3. (pl. 7, 11) British Museum. 57.87 gr (3.75g).

Obverse die 3./Reverse die 7. (pl. 7, 12) I. Schneider collection, *ex* Norweb 1985 (177), R. Carlyon-Britton, Walters 1932 (273). 56.67 gr (3.672g).

Halfgroats

There are five coins from two obverse and four reverse dies.

Obverse: (im) HENRIC X DI X GRA X REX X ANGL X Z X F
The Z is reversed.

Reverse: POSVI o/DEVM X/ADIVT/ORE X M X/

CIVI/TAS X/EBO/RACI o/

There is an annulet after POSVI and after RACI.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 1. (pl. 8, 13) Lessen, *ex* Reigate II, Glendining (249). 29.45 gr (1.91g), 270°. The hoard deposit was *c.* 1455.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 1. (pl. 8, 14) Lessen, *NCirc* February 1990 (983) *ex* David Dupree, *SCMB* January 1962 (H627), R. Carlyon-Britton, Lockett 1956 (1515), possibly bought privately from Wheeler, Brunn 1925 (440), Walters 1913 (316), Rostron 1892 (79), Montagu duplicates 1888 (140), Shepherd 1885 (169), possibly Dimsdale 1824 (362, part). 26.80 gr (1.74g), 180°.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 2. (pl. 8, 15) British Museum, from Reigate II. 29.17 gr (1.89g). The hoard deposit was *c.* 1455.

Obverse die 2./Reverse die 3. (pl. 8, 16) British Museum, *ex* Montagu 1896 (534) from Brice, 29.17 gr (1.89g).

Obverse die 2./Reverse die 4. (pl. 8, 17) Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, from Dr Hunter's collection formed 1770–83. 25.77 gr (1.67g).

Pence

There are three coins from two obverse and three reverse dies.

Obverse: (im) HENRICVS X REX X ANGLIE

Reverse: CIVI/TAS X/EBO/RACI o/

There is an annulet after RACI.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 1. (pl. 8, 18) British Museum, piece missing. 13.12 gr (0.85g). This appears to have been struck before the next coin.

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 2. (**pl. 8, 19**) Lessen, Spink 1990 *ex* David Dupree, no provenance. 14.40 gr (0.93g), 325°. There are several tiny obverse and reverse die flaws.
 Obverse die 2./Reverse die 3. (**pl. 8, 20**) Ryther hoard. 9.57 gr (0.62g). The hoard deposit was c. 1485.

Halfpence

There are three coins from two obverse and two reverse dies.

Obverse: (im) HENRIC $\frac{x}{2}$ REX $\frac{x}{2}$ ANGL

Reverse: CIVI/TAS/EBO/RACI/

Obverse die 1./Reverse die 1. (**pl. 8, 21**) British Museum 1926, *ex* Brunn 1925 (455), Walters 1913 (317), Montagu 1896 (535), Shepherd 1885 (170). 7.72 gr (0.50g). The reverse is double struck, making a positive identity with the next coin difficult.
 Obverse die 2./Reverse die 1. (**pl. 8, 22**) Lessen, *NCirc* September 1989 (4652) *ex* David Dupree, R. Carlyon-Britton, L.A. Lawrence 1951 (600). 7.70 gr (0.50g), 190°.
 Obverse die 2./Reverse die 2. (**pl. 8, 23**) Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, *ex* Lockett 1956 (1516). 5.71 gr (0.37g).

Farthings

There are no farthings known, but one would expect them to have been made. There are London and Calais farthings, the latter being obvious from the inclusion of annulets, the former only because its initial mark of a botany cross matches the similar mark on Calais farthings. London farthings lack annulets.

Summary and conclusions

The preceding discussions are summarized in the following table, where the estimates are based on the presumption that the figure of £496 is truth:

	<i>4d</i>	<i>2d</i>	<i>1d</i>	$\frac{1}{2}d$
No. of coins today	13	5	3	3
No. of obverse dies	3	2	2	2
No. of reverse dies	7	4	3	2
Minimum coins possible	30k	—	—	—
No. of coins using	23k	12k	2.5k	—
Calais & London %	= £383	= £100	= £10	
No. of coins at	30k	20k	20k	20k
10k/obverse die	= £500	= £167	= £83	= £42
No. of coins	21k	10k	<10k	<10k
final estimate	= £350	= £83	= £42	= £21

This attempt to make a rough estimate or guess of the quantities of silver coins produced will be carried further with an acceptance of the period of coinage (gold starting first) to have been from about August 1423 to August 1424. The vast majority of it would have been produced within the first two months, with only an occasional response to incoming metal, mostly in gold, over the next ten months. The dies were probably made in a batch at the start, regardless of when they were used, and there should be no concern with privy marks or other types of changes if the work went into 1424, at least for the silver.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



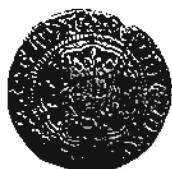
12



PLATE 8



13



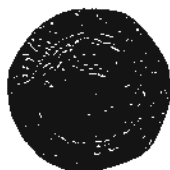
14



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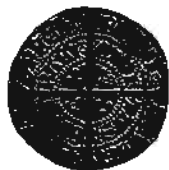
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23



4A



LESSON: YORK HENRY VI (2)

A CASE-HISTORY OF BRITISH BULLION: CARDIGANSHIRE SILVER AND THE FEATHERS COINAGE 1671–1731

GEORGE C. BOON

'ALL miners are rich, for when they have it not in substance, they have it in the mind!' So observed the Portuguese refiner to James I, as he demonstrated his skill;¹ and had he but known of the Cardiganshire mines, he might have cited their chequered history as a case in point. Silver in the lead-ores there certainly is, and some may be rich: 50 or 60 oz. a ton are claimed in old promotional literature, and such figures are not impossible, though more recent assays are at best in the 17 to 30 oz. range.² Fabulous Potosí, indeed, its early bonanza over, yielded no more, though left with its reputation undimmed.³ The greater wealth of Cardiganshire – four times as much – was always in the lead, but it was silver that lured a mercantilist age, and lent sparkle to its projects – a sparkle which obscured the difficulties of extraction in the remote and hilly hinterland of Aberystwyth.

The mines and mining

Between the Ystwyth and the Dovey as many as 28 mines were leased by the Company of Mine Adventurers in the early 1700s (ten on Fig. 1), and there were others which did not fall into their hands. Some had been worked for over a century as Mine Royal by Customer Smyth, Sir Hugh Myddelton, and above all Thomas Bushell, but the region is one of high rainfall – 60 to 80 inches – and many an enterprise, enthusiastically begun and pressed forward at great expense, foundered as the veins of ore ran on beyond the reach of the primitive pumps available. The only satisfactory answer, in Bushell's word to 'eternize' a mine, was to cut a drainage adit from the hillside at the lowest possible level; but before the advent in Cardiganshire of black-powder blasting – and the earliest record is of 1698 at Cwmystwyth – the procedure was crippling expensive. Indeed deadwork was always so, even when the use of gunpowder reduced it by nine-tenths.⁴ And a mine's 'eternity' was sometimes only purchased by sumps and pumping from below to the level of an adit. Of these early-modern endeavours traces remain. One of Bushell's adits has been identified at Cwmerfin; and elsewhere, in many places, the leats that brought moorland waters to ponds high above mines, the ponds themselves, and the effect of the sudden release of waters to scour away surface vegetation and soil can still be seen, notably at Cwmystwyth. Water-power was also used to turn the 'endless chain' or 'paternoster' pumps, and to work the multiple stamps which dressed the ore, but freezing weather in winter, and drought in summer limited

¹ G. Malynes, *Consuetudo, vel Lex Mercatoria* (1622), pp. 261–2, 271.

² O.T. Jones, *Lead and Zinc. The Mining District of North Cardiganshire and West Montgomeryshire* (Mem. Geol. Survey, Special Report no. 20, 1922), pp. 48–129. Over 300,000 tons of ore of variable silver-content, estimated by Jones as nearly 3½ million oz. – far from all of it extracted – have been raised in Cardiganshire, mainly in the last century, but including some earlier records.

³ Malynes, *Consuetudo*, p. 261 ('not above 1½ ounce of Silver in a hundreth'). Potosí, P. Vilar, *A History of Gold and Money* (translated by Judith White, 1976), pp. 119–33. The

process demonstrated to James I, with some Scottish ore, was the mercury-amalgam technique employed at Potosí, using Mexican mercury, which was much less wasteful than burning off the lead; but it was never used commercially here.

⁴ W. Waller, *The Mine Adventure Laid Open*, . . . (London, 1710) [BL 444.a.50], p. xiv ('accidental blast at Cumustwith'); Lewis Morris, NLW MS 603E, f.34v, of a 600-fathom adit at Cwmsymlog reputed to have cost Bushell £11,000, 'such another might be drove in our day for eleven hundred, owing to the use of gunpowder.' See G.C. Boon, *Cardiganshire Silver and the Aberystwyth Mint in Peace and War* (Cardiff, 1981), p. 29 note 22.

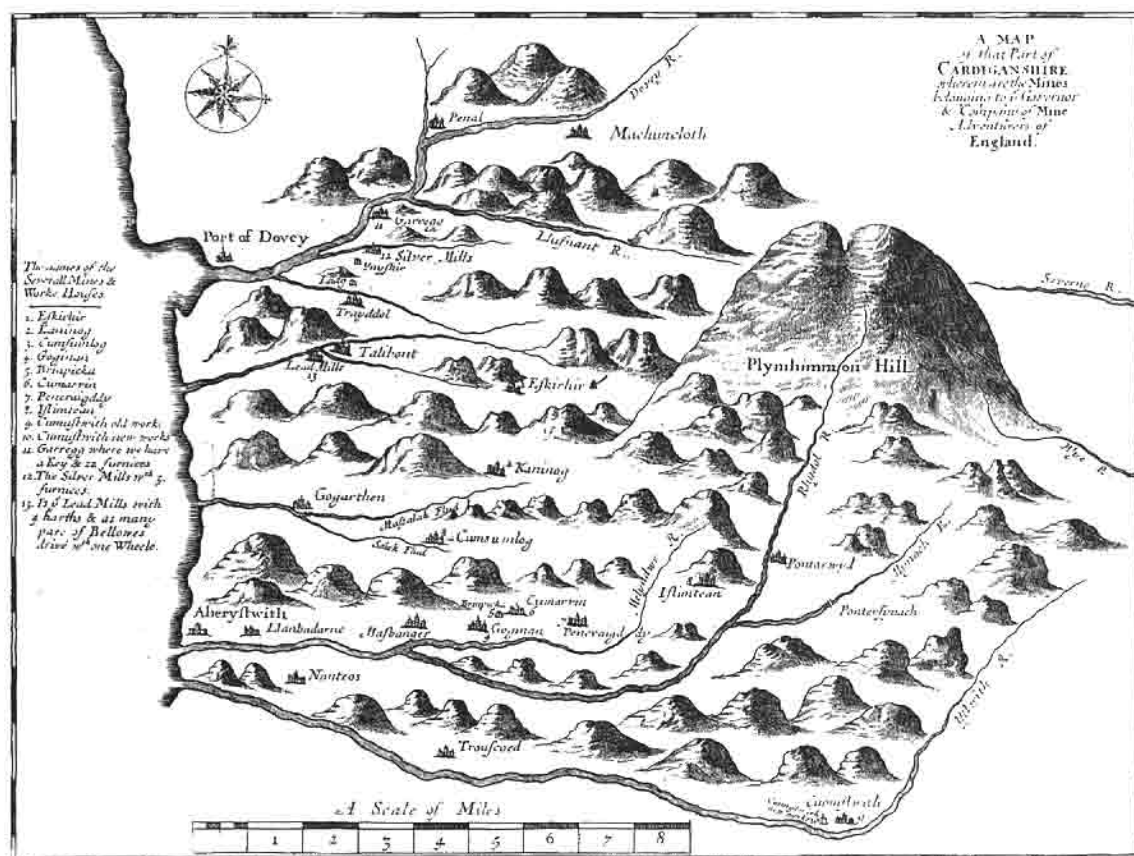


Fig. 1 Waller's map of the Cardiganshire mines (*Some Account of Mines*, 1699). Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir, 'Eskir hir', arrowed for the present paper.

its usefulness. Manual working of either was very injurious to the men; and this is to ignore their exploitation in the smelting- and refining houses. George Agricola has descriptions and a woodcut. By the inexorable law of serendipity, I find the matter squarely faced by Vitruvius, writing as early as the time of the emperor Tiberius (*de Architectura*, viii, 7).

Bushell mentions only one of his five adits as successful, at Talybont, which pierced the old workings, fortunately when the night-shift had gone off for a smoke; the violent flood carried off a hundred tons of rubble and inundated the wretched village near by. This adit proved its worth: Talybont was the only mine at work when Ray visited the region in 1658, and throughout our period it remained an important source of argentiferous ore. When Pettus published *Fodinae Regales* in 1670, it would have been one of the few still at work, albeit 'ineffectually'.⁵

The feathers and the coinage

The silver raised was destined for the coinage, and the distinctive badge of the three ostrich feathers issuant from a coronet, a device of the Prince of Wales, was the first of a number of marks of provenance applied to the coinage. It had first been granted by James I as an

⁵ Cwmerfin, D. Bick, *The Old Metal Mines of Mid-Wales* (combined ed., Newent, Glos., 1993), iii, pp. 7, 9 (figs.); Talybont, as described to Bushell, Boon, p. 229; J. Ray, A

Collection of English Words ... with an Account of the preparing and refining such Metals and Minerals as are gotten in England (1691 ed.), p. 178; J. Pettus, *Fodinae Regales ...* (1670), p. 33.

encouragement to Sir Hugh Myddelton's Cardiganshire enterprise, and because the silver was raised in mines deemed rich and therefore royal, it was to that extent a proprietary mark (though the royal arms proper were stamped on the silver-cakes sent to the Mint, as a security measure). As time went on, however, the appearance of the feathers on the coinage gave rise to the notion that they were 'the arms of Wales', and in this looser and very pervasive sense their use was sought by the joint-stock companies concerned, even remotely, with Welsh silver when once the shadow of the Prerogative had been removed. For them, the device was in part a seal of royal approval, but above all an advertisement of success in the field, and a testimony to their creditworthiness to the extent that the appearance of large silver, above the standard shilling and sixpence, may be taken by us in a sense opposite to that intended at the time – as a danger-sign rather than as proof of riches.

The feathers badge appears on shillings of 1671 after an interval of over twenty years. Its occurrence thereafter down to 1731 has not been studied in relation to the fortunes of the mines, but is not to be understood otherwise. The story is not without interest, for there are times when we have feather coins, but no Cardiganshire silver is booked at the Mint; times when silver is booked, but we have no feathers coins; and even times when no silver was produced, yet amounts are booked and feather coins are known (Table 1).

When there was to be a coinage with a distinctive mark, a warrant had to be obtained from the Lord High Treasurer on every occasion, though its text might lead one to suppose that it was not only the first, but the only one ever to be required. As a branch of the Tower, Aberystwyth alone was excepted, but Myddelton had had to abide by this rule, as is shown by the fact that the first recorded warrant, of September 1623, falls two months after the pyxing of the thistle mark, which the earliest-known feathers coins carry. Few records of feathers warrants survive, but to demonstrate the persistence of the original practice as late as the reign of Anne, can be cited the minutes of the Company of Mine Adventurers: on September 8, 1702, the Secretary reported that he had taken the silver to the Mint, but could not get a die cut without a renewal of the warrant; on December 11 he announced that he now had it; and from the appropriate Mint journal we find that on January 13 he brought two cakes of silver weighing together some 80 lb. (Table 2).⁶

It is well-known that the coins bearing the feathers device are not composed purely of Welsh silver, with the obvious exception of the Aberystwyth and Silver Mills series. For one thing, the amount of Welsh bullion contributed was always modest. More importantly, being newly refined, it was always very pure, within a pennyweight or so of complete fineness. It was used, therefore, to leaven the mixed bag brought to the Mint by other dealers. By balancing what was better than standard against what was worse, the highly-skilled melter could achieve the sterling standard of 11 oz. 2 dwt. without recourse to refining – a course to which Parkhurst was driven in wartime Oxford, when Bushell had diverted his Welsh silver to the new mint at Bristol. C.E. Challis has shown how tables had been computed to determine by how much a given ingot exceeded or fell short of the standard.⁷ All the necessary figures are recorded in the fair copies of the Mint journals,⁸ from which a specimen has been extracted as Table 3. Here we note on the left the exact weight of the three cakes brought on that particular date, with their fineness, which is given in the margin; on the right appears the

⁶ G. Grant Francis, *The Smelting of Copper in the Swansea District* . . . (London and Manchester, 1881), pp. 89–90; PRO Mint 9/181. Grant Francis relates from the minutes that Mackworth (see below) was to be reimbursed the £3. 12s. in new coin which he had presented to the Queen, no doubt to mark the first anniversary of her accession (8 March), and perhaps as an early step in the obtaining a charter for the Mine Adventurers' Company. The gift was most likely a troy pound's worth of the shillings – 62 – and the cost of a rich purse for them.

⁷ *BNJ* 62 (1992), 238–40 (Presidential Address).

⁸ Mint 9/144 is, however, a waste-book. A small detail of my experience in perusing volume after volume of the folio fair copies seems to show that they were seldom consulted – a stored record of completed transactions. On the neat, clean desk at Kew there gradually accumulated a fine, gritty grey dust – the pounce sprinkled on those pages to dry the ink all those years ago.

TABLE 1. Coinage with marks of provenance including the Feathers.

	5s.	Feathers Only 2s. 6d.	1s.	6d.		Roses and Feathers	Feathers and Ⓐ
1671			•				
1672			•				
1673		•	•				
1674			•				
1675			•				
1676			•				
1677			•				
1678			•				
1679			•				
1680			•		Working Mines Royal		
1681							
1682		•					
1683							
1684			•		Undertaking for		
1685							
1686							
1687							
1688							
1689							
1690							
1691							
1692							
1693		An Act to prevent disputes and controversies concerning Royal Mines					
1694							
1695							
1696							
1697							
1698			•	•			
1699			•	•			
1700			•	•	Mine Adventurers		
1701		•	•				
1702			•				
1703			•				
1704		•	•				
1705	•	•	•	•		•	
1706			•			•	
1707			•	•		•	
1708	•	•	•	•		•	
1709							
1710						•	
1711						•	
1712						•	
1713						•	
1714						•	
1715						•	
1716						•	
1717						•	
1718						•	
1719						•	
1720						•	

	Feathers Only				Roses and Feathers	Feathers and £
	5s.	2s. 6d.	1s.	6d.		
1721					•	Welch Copper Company
1722					•	
1723					•	
1724					•	
1725					•	
1726					•	
1727			•		•	
1728				•	•	
1729					•	
1730						
1731			•		•	
1732					•	
1733						
1734					•	
1735					•	
1736					•	
1737					•	

TABLE 2. Cardiganshire silver coined at the Mint, 1671–1708. Extracted from the Mint journals (PRO Mint 9/141–182 passim)

		<i>Bullion</i>				<i>Standard silver</i>			
		li.	oz.	dwt.	gr.	li.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
141]	Feb. 1 1671/2	17	07	05	00	18	11	04	01
	May 25 1672	98	11	05	00	[not noted]			
	Jun. 22 1672	12	10	05	00	13	09	14	14
142]	Mar. 27 1673/4	42	11	10	00	46	03	02	04
143]	Jun. 12 1674	05	03	05	00	05	06	19	01
	Nov. 10 1674	30	03	00	00	32	07	09	23
144]	Aug. 7 1675	33	04	05	00	35	09	02	12½
145]	Jul. 19 1676	10	10	05	00	11	07	03	13
146]	May 14 1677	11	10	10	00	12	09	00	19
	Nov. 10 1677	06	10	05	00	07	04	10	23
148]	Jun. 16 1678	14	07	05	00	15	08	04	15
	Sep. 5 1678	04	00	15	00	04	04	09	16
149]	Dec. 31 1679	05	08	00	00	06	01	07	05
	Jun. 8 1680	04	11	05	00	05	03	18	10
153]	Aug. 4 1683	07	05	19	03	07	10	07	11
177]	May 13 1699	72	11	00	00	77	04	13	05
	Sep. 20 1699	80	00	00	00	83	02	18	09
179]	May 21 1701	28	09	05	00	30	10	02	10
181]	Jan. 13 1702/3	80	08	05	00	86	08	06	12
	Mar. 16 1703/4	95	02	15	00	101	02	16	07
	Mar. 21 1704/5	223	08	00	00	238	02	13	13
	Feb. 20 1705/6	177	01	05	00	188	09	13	08
	Feb. 24 1707/8	624	03	15	00	665	11	04	04
	Mar. 23 1707/8	169	02	05	00	181	06	02	02

no more identifiable

amount according to the tables by which each lot exceeded sterling weight; the sterling equivalent is given, and the pot in which the consignment was melted; finally, we have the date on which the account was 'cleared', when coins to that weight were delivered to the bringer against his receipt.⁹ The amounts brought, and the sterling equivalent, are listed in Table 2 but the text of this paper will employ rounded figures for the reader's convenience.

The only other points which perhaps need remark are obvious ones. The moneyers could not have been expected to strike an exact number of coins with particular dies, and on most occasions there was, doubtless, a superfluity which would have been passed over to some other bringer. Then again, the amounts to be delivered in sterling coin were often very inconvenient. Small remainders could be made up with unmarked coins under the sixpence (which was the lowest marked denomination since the closure of Aberystwyth and the Silver Mills mint) and, as Graham Dyer has observed was the case with the gold coinage, by the addition of scraps of metal. Of this procedure we may very well have an instance in 1683, when a mere 2½ oz. of sterling silver made up a small consignment (p. 72), most likely makeweight scraps saved up.

The Company of Undertakers of Mine Royal and their coinage

The period surveyed in this paper embraces traditional operations under the Prerogative on the one hand, and the beginning of private enterprise on the other, separated by an important watershed. In the first instance, then: of Bushell's successors as lessees of the Cardiganshire mines royal, none had his wit or his charm. Pettus's picture of the Welsh mines is one of lost opportunity, and in response the Society of the Mines Royal established a subsidiary, the joint-stock Undertaking for the Working of Mines Royal in the Counties of Cardigan and Merioneth; but how it was imagined that a capital of only £4,200 in £100 shares would set in train the miracle denied to individual lessees or partnerships, it is hard to say.¹⁰ Between 1671 and 1678, however, the Undertakers supplied some 290 lb. troy of fine silver to the Mint (Table 2), or some £900 at the mint price of only 5s. 2d. an oz. There was also the coarse lead, the potter's ore, and litharge from the cupellation¹¹ of the rich lead to make the silver, but at the best calculation this would not have amounted to more than five times that figure, or £4,500 all told. Against this had to be set the costs of development, including wages, smelting, refining, and transport. The only surprise is that hope sprang so eternal in the subscribers' breasts that they had been prepared to countenance such a preposterous scheme. We shall see in due course that they were not alone in doing so.

The subsidiary character of the Undertakers is shown by the fact that it was Henry Kemp, in his capacity as Treasurer of the Mines Royal,¹² who took their bullion to the Mint, where we find his name inscribed in the journals as bringer. The first Undertakers' coinage consisted of shillings dated 1671, and these answer to two cakes equivalent to almost 19 lb. troy sterling (or lb.t.s. as we may call it) brought by Henry Kemp on February 1, 1671/2, and cleared on February 10. One, if not both, of these cakes had been surrendered by the outgoing lessee in lieu of his arrears of rent to the Society, less what had been removed to make a seal for the Undertaking.¹³ Kemp's next visit was on June 22, 1672, with bullion cleared as nearly

⁹ These receipts, of course, were almost, but not quite, as good as cash: the Mine Adventurers' silver was pledged for cash on at least one occasion (cf. note 36 below).

¹⁰ W. Rees, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution* (Cardiff, 1968), vol II, pp. 490-1; W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910-12), vol II, pp. 403-4.

¹¹ Litharge was sold to glass-houses for making lead-crystal,

and otherwise for glazing earthenware; it could be made into red-lead for paint, or reduced to metal, when it would be sold at a loss. There was also a wide range of manufactured leadwork, from sheet to pipes and flowerpots.

¹² Henry Kemp was a Deputy Governor of the Society of the Mines Royal, with 2½ shares; *ob.* 20 Nov. 1684 - May 7, 1685. Roger Norton, his successor, does not appear in the Mint journals, Mines Royal minutes are in BL as Loans 16/iii.

¹³ Mint 9/141; see Rees, p. 490.

14 lb.t.s. on July 13. No coins are known dated 1672, a year in which over 86,670 lb.t.s. was coined from all sources, so that the little Cardiganshire consignment must have been struck with dies of the previous year:¹⁴ there is no instance in the feathers series of an altered date, as there is both in the main coinage of the realm and in that of the two other companies employing feathers – the Company for Smelting Down Lead with Pitcoal and Seacoal, and the Welch Copper Company.¹⁵ A similar circumstance arose in 1678, when a total of 20 lb.t.s. was cleared on July 1 and October 4, presumably in the form of coins dated 1677.¹⁶

It would be supererogatory to go through all the issues in this way, when the essential details are given in Table 2. But 1673 is an interesting year, for a halfcrown was included in the 46 lb.t.s. cleared on June 9. Of this piece two varieties are recorded, both very rare today, perhaps always: the same obverse, with the feathers *à la mode* below the bust, is used with a reverse having the device again in the centre, and with a plain reverse. The reason for using two reverses is obscure.¹⁷ Even rarer – indeed, it seems unique – is a halfcrown of 1683, the only feathers coin of that year, again from the same obverse die, and with a plain reverse. It corresponds to a curious lot of less than 8 lb. brought to the Mint by Kemp on July 17 – a little cake of 1¾ lb., of normal Cardiganshire fineness, 16½ dwt. above sterling; another of 5½ lb.

TABLE 3. Example of Cardiganshire silver received at the Mint (Mint 9/148)

June 16th 1678

HENRY KEMP (on behalf of the Company of Undertakers for Working Mines Royal)

	dwt better		li	oz	dwt	gr	oz	dwt	gr	m
1st pot										
June 28th	xvi	1).	03	11	00	00	03	02	16	00
	xvi ob.	2).	08	08	15	00	07	04	00	15
	xvii	3).	01	11	10	00	01	13	11	00
			14	07	05	00	12	00	03	15
Standard			15	08	04	15*				
Cleared July 1st			15	08	04	15	presumably struck with 1677 dies, no 1678 coins being known.			

* This figure is 19 dwt. 11 gr. 5 mites more than the total of the bullion. But as the bullion is so much better than standard, it was mixed with lots of *lower* fineness so that *together* they approximated to sterling, with the need to add some additional silver to bring the *whole* melting accurately to standard. The additional amount here is what was proportionable to the weight and fineness of the silver brought by Kemp. The melter worked within a tolerance of 2 dwt. in the lb. better or worse than standard. The coins were struck to the same tolerance, or 'remedy'.

1 lb. troy = 12 oz. 1 oz. = 20 dwt. 1 dwt. = 24 gr. 1 gr. = 20 mites.

¹⁴ *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (1992), table, p. 340.

¹⁵ The first of these, later colloquially known as 'the Quaker Company', became the London Lead Company; it was responsible for the 'roses and plumes' coinage. See A. Raistrick, *Transactions Newcomen Society* xiv (1935), 119–53, and G.C. Brooke, *NC ser.* 5 xiv (1934), 51–6. The second has no definitive study: see Grant Francis, pp. 170–1; Rees, pp. 502, 577; Scott, pp. 438–9. Its coinage had W.C.C. under the bust and the feathers alternately with a CC monogram on the reverse.

¹⁶ Mint 9/141, 146, 148. The mysterious series with the rose in the spandrels of the reverse, on which comment is confined to glib repetition of Whitaker's in *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* (in his edition of Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 1816), p. 88, nos 616–17, also displays altered dates.

¹⁷ Mint 9/142: R⁵ and R⁶ in ESC. the shilling as only R³. Both varieties use the same obverse die (for the feathers rev. see *Cat. Bliss Sale*, 1916, lot 531, pl. xii, and another, *Cat. Raynes Sale*, 1950, lot 566, pl. vi). The 3 in the date of the plain variety is crudely made-up.

but only 9 dwt. better; and a pinch of sterling, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz., already mentioned above. The total would barely have produced 195 coins. The fact of the matter is that by 1678 the Undertaking was in severe difficulties, and the Society of Mines Royal was reverting to its former practice of leasing its rights to individuals. In 1677 Anthony Shephard had applied for certain leases, and in 1679 was granted more.¹⁸ It seems unlikely that coins bearing date of 1679, 1680, and 1683 can be attributed to the Undertaking. The total supplied to the Mint was in any case no more than 19 lb. in all three years. One wonders whether the 1683 halfcrown – that small but glittering issue containing a trifle of Cardiganshire bullion – was not intended to underpin credit for the new operation, with the connivance of members of the Society of Mines Royal, two of whom were partners with Shephard in this enterprise.

The final outlier of the series – the James II shilling of 1685 – is known in four examples,¹⁹ but it is ironic that with such a showing it should not be backed, as was the 1683 halfcrown, with however dubious a delivery of bullion to the Mint. The coin is certainly an oddity, lacking as it does the feathers under the bust – omitted otherwise only in the case of the 1674 shilling – and in having a device on the reverse which, as Michael Sharp once pointed out to me, lacks the label, however sketchily it may usually be shown at that scale. It is as if the punch used for the feathers on Charles II shillings had been truncated in order to fit the space on an unfinished reverse, which like the obverse is perfectly standard otherwise. Can some private arrangement have been formed? In the current Mint journal, one notices that a big bullion-dealer, Francis Kenton, supplied a curious, for him negligible, little amount of some $3\frac{1}{4}$ lb., 7 dwt. below standard, on 4 August.²⁰ Can this be the silver in question? In 1685, the lease of the cupola or smelting plant at Garreg, on the Dovey, was due to end at Michaelmas, and was to be taken over by Shephard. These are suggestive details but the truth of the matter, as in all cases depending on circumstantial evidence alone, is elusive. To those who would object that the Mint would never admit of any tampering with the coinage of the realm, I would say that the shillings are perfectly good, and three of the four, like the 1683 halfcrown, show signs of considerable wear. It must seem that the procedure for obtaining a marked coinage was nevertheless circumvented, and circumvented in the name of credit. That is a word which must hereafter enter more frequently into this discussion than hitherto, as we pass the watershed of 1693.

The demise of the prerogative in mines

The story now to be related is well-known. The Revolution Parliament in 1689 tidied away a strange old Act of Henry IV regarding the ‘multiplying’ of gold and silver – it is believed that Robert Boyle, who believed in the transmutation of metals by a rearrangement of their fundamental particles, was behind it. However, who cobbled on to 1 William & Mary Session I, chapter 30 a third section that ‘no mine of copper tin iron or lead shall hereafter be adjudged . . . to be a Royal Mine although gold or silver may be extracted out of the same’, I do not know. Chitty merely states that the injustice of the doctrine that had so far prevailed called for a remedy, which begs the question.²¹ But be that as it may, local landowners took the new Act

¹⁸ National Museum of Wales *ex NCirc*, March 1987, 1405 . . . Manville (*Spink Sale* no. 9, lot 45 . . . *Taffs Sale*, 1956, lot 302. Cf. Mint 9/153, cleared August 4 in 1,860 lb. due to various bringers. Shephard, Rees, pp. 490–1.

¹⁹ Two, *BNJ* 26 (1952), 358, pl. A, 19 (here **pl. 9** no. 4), in mint state, all the others worn or much worn. The second of the two is now in NMW (*NCirc* March 1987, 1413 . . . *Spink Sale* no. 9, lot 104 . . . an Ashmolean duplicate from the former Bodleian Collection, c. 1950). The third specimen

remains in the Ashmolean from the same source. The fourth, much worn, is in the Hunterian, but as an addition to Hunter proper. I am grateful to Messrs Bateson, Besly, Mayhew and Sharp for their help in tracing these four coins.

²⁰ Mint 9/156.

²¹ J. Chitty, *Treatise on the Law of the Prerogatives of the Crown* (1820, repr. 1968), p. 146. Chitty does not appear to have accepted the commonsense view expounded by Plowden and repeated for Bushell (see Boon, pp. 1–2, 211).

as an invitation to press ahead with mineral exploitation. Tom Fuller's epigram, 'a leaden mine is a silver mine to such subjects as possess it, whilst a silver mine is but a leaden one unto them from whom the property is taken as then accruing to the Crown or State by virtue of its Prerogative'²² had no longer, it seemed, any force.

By an almost or entirely unbelievable coincidence, shepherds on the vast estate of Sir Carbury Pryse of Gogerddan, near Aberystwyth, had stumbled that very year on a wide vein of argentiferous lead-ore at Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir – an expressive Welsh name, 'the Gap of the Long Ridge'. So near the surface did it lie that 'moss and grass did but barely cover it.'²³ The Society of the Mines Royal, however – for generations their predatory lessees had been a thorn in the side of the Pryses of Gogerddan, the Powells of Nanteos on the other side of town, and other landowners – claimed that the new Act did not infringe upon their interests, inasmuch as their mines were silver-mines, rather than lead-mines, the value of the silver refined being greater than the amount of lead lost. Indeed the new Act made no reference to the proportion of noble and base constituents. Sir Carbury was taken to court and won, but Crown counsel set about new proceedings, alleging that the all-important ore-samples which had figured in evidence had been introduced from elsewhere. The court would have nothing of this, but again proceedings were commenced. Sir Carbury, regarding this treatment as tyrannical, petitioned their Majesties, and had the satisfaction of seeing the Attorney General enter a *nolle prosequi*. His dash home with the news within forty-eight hours, beacons ablaze from every hilltop in his domain, is West Walian folklore,²⁴ and in 1693, by 5 William & Mary chapter 6, 'An Act to prevent disputes and controversies concerning Royal Mines', the stranglehold of the Prerogative in metals was finally broken: 'the owner or owners . . . of any mine or mines, within the Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, or Town of Berwick upon Tweed, wherein any ore now is, or hereafter shall be discovered, opened found or wrought, and in which there is copper, tin, iron or lead, shall, and may hold and enjoy the same . . . and continue in the possession thereof, and dig and work the said mine or mines or ore, notwithstanding that [it] shall be pretended or claimed to be a Royal Mine or Royal Mines; and law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding . . .' To save its face, the Crown insisted only on a right to buy in ore raised within thirty days at fixed prices (increased under George III, though I am unaware that the right was ever exercised), and in practice the Crown had to rely on its position as manorial lord of many thousands of acres. In the 1740s Lewis Morris, of the gifted Anglesey family, became Deputy Steward, and it is to his meticulous record that we know so much of mining here in the early modern age.²⁵

At this stage, the provision in the 1689 Act regarding the obligatory supply of silver to the Mint was still operative. Conduitt, writing in 1730, expressly refers to the Pitcoal and Seacoal Company and the Welch Copper Company being 'forced' to send silver to the Mint 'pursuant to an Act of Parliament'. In 1766, indeed, the Mint solicitor demanded of the former company that they should provide silver for that year's Maundy distribution, with reference to the Act. The Company replied with some justification that the Act stipulated payment at the full and true value, and they did not consider that the mint-price of 5s. 2d. per oz. met the case.²⁶ It had been incorporated in 1692, its charter therefore having no other provision for its silver²⁷ and

²² Fuller's *Worthies – The Principality of Wales* (1662), p. 4, quoted Boon, p. 1.

²³ S.R. Meyrick, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Cardigan* (London, 1808), pp. ccxxiii–iv.

²⁴ Meyrick, pp. ccxxiii–iv; the story is well-told by David Jenkins, *Nat. Library of Wales Journ.* viii (1954), 359–68.

²⁵ D.Ll. Thomas, *Y Cymmrodor* xv (1901), 3 – 26,000 acres of unenclosed moor, mineral rights on as much again. The main Lewis Morris account is NLW MS 603E, with important

supplementary material in BL Add.MSS 14.929, 14.950 and 14.951.

²⁶ John Conduitt, Master of the Mint 1727–37, wrote 'Observations upon the Present State of our Gold and Silver Coinage' in 1730, published 1774, repr. W.A. Shaw, *Select Tracts and Documents illustrative of English Monetary History* (1896, repr. 1935), pp. 187–214; cf. Brooke, *NC* ser. 5 xiv (1934), 55.

²⁷ *Seldon Soc. Publns.* xxviii (1913), 228–30.

the same applied at first to the Mine Adventurers, to whose painful history we now come. In 1704, however, that Company did receive a charter, which laid it down that 'they may make such bargains and contracts or agreements . . . as they shall judge best for the disposal of any the ore bullion metal produce or profits',²⁸ and indeed regulated a state of affairs which Table 4 suggests had by that time resulted in the loss to the mint of some 64 lb. fine silver: there was – there could be – no outside check on the amount of silver refined, and declared.

The Company of Mine Adventurers of England and their coinage

We left Sir Carbury Pryse saddle-sore but triumphant. Alas! there were the punitive legal costs of his defence, and the company which he had formed, with his own 50 per cent stake in it, to exploit the new find made scant progress. Within a twelvemonth he was dead, and soon the enterprise was running at an accumulated loss of £15,000, and would clearly have to be brought to an end. The manager, or steward, William Waller, thought otherwise. According to his own account he had accepted that post after a most exhaustive examination of the prospects. He tried to interest various businessmen, but through William Shiers, who was then Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Secretary at his coalworks and copper-smelting plant at Neath, succeeded in interesting the latter in a project to raise a joint-stock by way of a lottery, whereby the work could be carried on, and profitably.²⁹ In 1698, Mackworth formed the Company of Mine Adventurers under the Duke of Leeds as Governor and himself as Deputy Governor. The Duke, better known to history as the Earl of Danby, twice or thrice rehabilitated in and since Charles II's day, was already a partner in the moribund Pryse concern, and was a fit associate (though not an active one) for that public-relations genius, able entrepreneur, supple financier, philanthropist and founder-member of the S.P.C.K. that was Mackworth, a lawyer who had effected great improvements in the coalworks to which he had succeeded, through his wife, at Neath. However, he knew all too little of mining for metals, and in any case was more interested in the financial side – in credit finance, as his pamphlet of 1694, *Englands Glory: a Royal Bank or Office of Credit*, suggests. Waller was confirmed in his post and given great responsibilities. An immense and sustained publicity-campaign began, with a range of literature that put even Bushell's into the shade. It numbered not only more or less detailed notes, illustrated diagrammatically, of the mines (Fig. 2) by Waller, but by Mackworth in the name of Shiers, *A Familiar Discourse concerning the Mine Adventure*, which included an extraordinary calculation extrapolating production and 'clear profit' beginning with 50 miners raising 1,000 tons in the first year rising by geometric progression to 800 miners raising 16,000 tons in the fifth year, without the smallest concession to costs, or indeed to the difficulties of working deep mines in west Wales, which would have been obvious to Mackworth on his own inspection, were he not under the reckless enthusiastic charm of Waller.

To any modern mind this sort of thing passes belief, as does the equally specious comparison with Potosí, of which a sketch-diagram is given. Malynes is referred to, without, however, that canny old mercantilist's report of the much reduced yield of the Potosí ore.³⁰ There was even an inspired poem of tedious length by one of the subscribers, The Revd Thomas Yalden, of Magdalen College, Oxford, where Mackworth had matriculated,³¹ based very largely on Waller's map of the mines with its references to 'fair Sabrina', 'aged Dovey' and 'mountains of prodigious size' swelling from the gloomy surface of 'the sullen earth' –

²⁸ *Seldon Soc. Publs.* xxviii (1913), 243–8.

²⁹ Waller, *The Mine Adventure*, p. xviii.

³⁰ W. Waller, *An Essay on the Value of the Mines, late of Sir Carbury Price* (1698), p. 10.

³¹ Meyrick, pp. ccxxviii ff. 'Gloomy and sullen' in response to the influence of the 'black and cold Saturn' who presided over lead, see J. Webster, *Metallographia* (1671), p. 273.

A Description of the Lead and Silver Mines of Bwlch yr Eskir-hir.

A THE West Level, and Line of Level.

B The Shaft at the great Work, where the Vein is Eleven Foot wide, but that in Ore never exceeded Seven Foot Six Inches.

C We are there sinking; but being much water'd, we are driving up the East Level Vein from (d) in Ore, that is above Four Foot wide; and in some Places it is above Eight Foot wide in firm solid Ore: This Drift is to free the Shaft at C from Water.... At D we want above Fifty Yards to cross to the Vein A; and at B we want but Five Yards; those Two Veins divide at the Mountain E; and the great Vein runs by F.

G The East Level Vein is very rich, as you find it described at D: We raise and wash Ore there, and make it Merchandizable at 3 s. 7 d. per Tun.

H Is the Bog-Work, where we have Ore a Yard wide, and a Drift from I will free it from Water. **K** The New Work is much wider, but the same Vein.

We have Three more Veins; but I have described none but where we have wrought, having much more in this Liberty, that will hereafter require a further Description, this Boundary being above Thirty Seven Miles Compass: In which Liberty we have those Mountains included, on which the Welsh Prophecy is made, *viz. Yr Eglwys a Brin Melin*.... *T Mae Cyfoeth yri Brenin*. Thus English'd, *In Eskirhir and Brin Melin*.... *Lies the Wealth of Three Kings*.

We shall set the other Part of this Liberty to work with the Mines that are here inserted in the following Map: are in full Management.

L Is the East Level; **M** Houses built for the Miners; **N** Two Store-houses; **O** the Smiths Forge, and **P** is the New Town, called, *Welsh Perogi*.

A Mapp of the Great Lead & Silver Mines of Bwlch-yr-eskir-hir

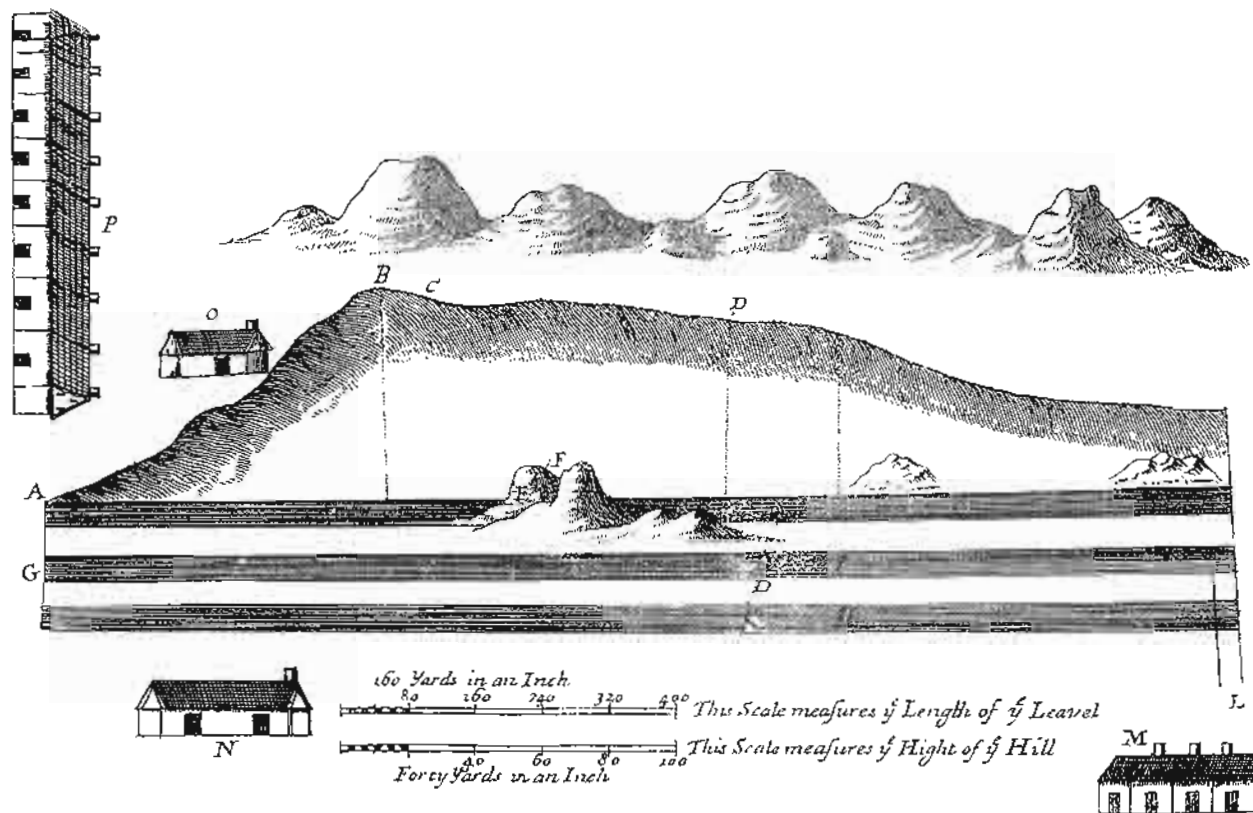


Fig. 2 Waller's combined topographical sketch, plan and section of Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir, with notes (*Some Account of Mines*, 1699).

Yet all beneath, deep as the centre, shines
With native wealth, and more than India's mines.

It was in these early pamphlets that the notion of Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir as 'the Welsh Potosí' first arose.

The upshot was that Mackworth offered to buy all the existing shares of the Pryse concern at £20 cash, or to exchange them for four £5 debentures at 6 per cent, giving entry to a lottery in which new shares were to be the prizes; unlucky shares became 'blanks' carrying no rights save those of creditors. The scheme was in tune with the times, when the Government might launch its tontine of 1693 and Million Lottery of 1694, on the tickets of which the crazy foundations of the extraordinary Million Bank were soon erected.³² A lottery for shares in a promising mining concern was surely a sound basis for a flutter, and £24,490 was raised on the first day. Among some 700 subscribers in 1700 were two Houblon brothers, one being the first Director of the Bank of England, the other a Deputy Director, prominent London merchants and aldermen, one indeed Lord Mayor. For another reason 'the Poor of Empingham' – a small village near Oakham in Rutlandshire – stand out among a sprinkling of aristocratic names, and those of widows, orphans, and other ladies. The 25,000 tickets were to raise £125,000, of which £20,000 was earmarked as a permanent stock to work the mines, £80,000 to satisfy the previous partners in the Pryse company – including the Duke of Leeds, therefore – and the remainder to go to the costs of floating the new company at Sir Humphrey Mackworth's discretion, no account to be rendered. That all the subscribers were more or less ignorant of mining, and assuredly of the carve-up behind the new concern's bland arrangements, characterized many a flotation of the period, and one suspects that even the Company's court, 'the Mobb' to Mackworth,³³ knew little of what was going on. More important still, Mackworth – who was certainly the author of many dubious *démarches* to keep up the Company's credit – was cozened by Waller from start to near finish, as his plaintive letters, becoming in the end scornful and angry, demonstrate all too well.

The Mine Adventurers at once sought the *cachet* of a distinctive coinage, and a warrant for dies placing the feathers in the spandrels of the reverse was obtained. An early issue was secured by bullion available on the spot when they took over.³⁴ However, 1699 is the first entry in the Mint journals, when Alderman Floyer, a big bullion-dealer, brought on May 13 and received on June 1 the equivalent of 77 lb.t.s. – the dies of 1698 must have been prepared well in advance. A second consignment of 83 lb.t.s., still noted as from 'the Royal Mines', was cleared on November 18 and gives us the 1699 coins. In 1700 there are no identifiable bringings. The coins of that year are very different from their predecessors or their successors, having just a tiny badge below the bust, and a plain reverse. Some 80 lb. of silver was refined in September and January (Table 4), but what became of it is uncertain; as in 1708, it may have been pledged for ready money.³⁶

What is not uncertain is the severe disappointment arising from the reckless over-promotion of Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir, which, far from producing the easy bonanza publicly predicted, was yielding ore of modest silver-content, from workings which for some time were impeded by water. Much depended on 'bringing the levels up' in all the mines, but here especially: over 2,000 tons were raised, however, between February 1702/3 and August 1708. Waller admitted the difficulties. He explained that the ore in the great vein lay like 'planks in a floor, viz. one

³² Million Bank, R.D. Richards, *The Early History of Banking in England* (1958), pp. 112–16.

³³ Waller, p. 80.

³⁴ *A Settlement of the Mine Adventure* (1698), p. 4 – rather specious, but see the valuations in *Journals of the House of Commons* (henceforth *JHC*), 367, ore, £2,000, lead £608.

³⁵ Mint 9/177.

³⁶ Grant Francis, *The Smelting of Copper*, p. 95, from the minutes. John Carlitch, who was to be approached in the first instance, was a bullion-dealer and an outside refiner for the Mint; see C.E. Challis, *BNJ* 59 (1989), 162.

TABLE 4. Mine Adventurers of England: silver produced and minted 1699–1705/6

<i>Published accounts</i> (BL 522.m.12 (9))					<i>Mint journals</i> (PRO Mint 9/177, 179, 181)						
	Fine silver	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.		Fine silver	lb.	oz.	dwt.	gr.
1699		68	2	0	20	13.v.1699		45	10	0	0
16.iii.1699/00		55	0	0	0			27	1	0	0
14.ix.1700		53	1	1	3	20.ix.1699		80	0	0	0
18.i.1700/1		25	11	16	15						
4.v.1701		7	1	0	0	21.v.1701		28	9	5	0
23.xi.1701		36	9	13	8						
12.ii.1701/2		37	6	14	21						
6.vi.1702		13	3	2	8	13.i.1702/3		42	4	10	0
22.viii.1702		26	1	12	3			38	3	15	0
5.vi.1703		41	11	17	8	16.iii.1703/4		47	9	0	0
29.i.1703/4		87	1	8	16			47	5	15	0
23.ii.1704/5		2	6	12	11						
		15	10	17	1						
13.v.1705		222	6	15	23	20.ii.1705/6		52	5	0	0
								54	11	0	0
								69	9	5	0
		693	2	12	17			534	8	10	0
						<i>To balance</i>		158	6	2	17
								693	2	12	17

In 1699 the silver was refined at the Black Raven, Southwark, and thereafter at Neath. No silver was refined at the Silver Mills, Talybont, at this period.

ridge of potter's ore (which is the richest lead ore) and another of silver ore, which is poor in lead' (fig. 3), and he alluded, as boldly as he dared, to the problem of flooding.³⁷ He urged the acquisition of two of Morland's improved plunger-pumps, which would have cost a basic £60 apiece,³⁸ but a Savery steam-pump, advertised in 1702 for use in mines, would not be suitable – indeed, with a lift of only 80 ft, several would be needed. The invention should be encouraged, but was very 'chargeable'.³⁹

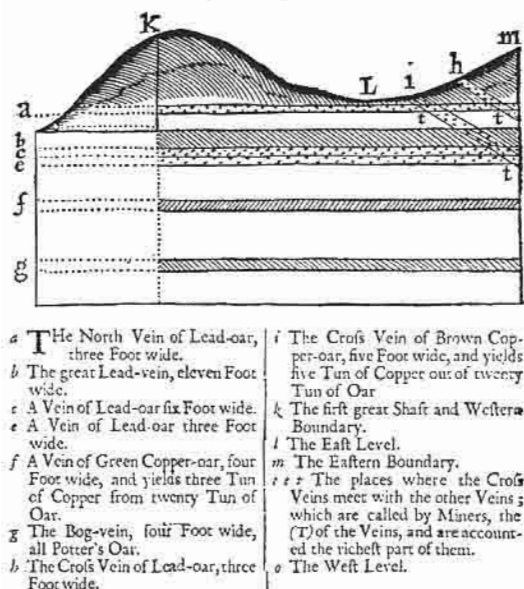
³⁷ The early activities of Waller are described in *An Abstract of the Present State of the Mines of Bwlchyr-Eskir-Hyr*, of 31 Jan., 1699/1700, and *The Second Abstract* . . . , 30 April, 1700, bound in *A Familiar Discourse or Dialogue concerning the Mine-Adventure* (1700) [BL 959.a.8 (1); copy also in NMW].

³⁸ W.J. Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales* (Cardiff, 1967), p. 83; Bick, *The Old Metal Mines*, vol. iii, p. 55 and note; H.W. Dickinson, *Sir Samuel Morland* (Newcomen Soc., 1970), pp. 56–73, with priced advertisement reproduced, of 1675.

³⁹ Thomas Savery's *Miner's Friend, or an Engine to Raise Water by Fire* (1702) is addressed to 'the Gentlemen Adventurers in the Mines of England' (who had expressed encouragement) (*A Familiar Discourse* (note 37 above), p.

50). Condensed steam created a vacuum which lifted water; two condensers were manually operated. The pump was developed from the Marquess of Worcester's, see his *A Century of . . . Inventions* (1663), pp. 47–9, no. 68, 'A Fire Water-Work'. Sir Edward Thomason's large medal of the early 1820's has a view of the engine, which is taken from Fig. 1 in Savery's *Miner's Friend* (L. Brown, *Catalogue. British Historical Medals i. 1760–1960*, no. 1336.10). The Company, with its smelting-houses at Neath and also Garreg on the Dovey, had the policy of 'ore to coal, coal to ore' and the Neath collier brigs at Aberystwyth misled Defoe into thinking it a local product (*A Tour through . . . Great Britain* (Penguin ed., 1971), p. 382).

A DESCRIPTION of the Silver, Lead and Copper-mines, late of Sir Carbery Price, lying in Cardiganshire, within four Miles of the Navigable River Dovey, and from thence a Mile by Water to the Port of Aberdovey, where Vessels of three or four hundred Tuns may ride with great Safety.



Note, All the said Veins are fix'd and settled betwixt firm and solid Sides, and rise equally near to the Surface of the Ground; and all (except the Cross Veins) be parallel to the great Vein, descending downwards like the Mine of Potosi; but being many in Number, and crossing each other could not be better described together on Paper.
 The Scale for the Length four hundred Yards in an Inch; and for the Height of the Mountain eighty Yards in an Inch; and for the Distance between the Veins forty Yards in an Inch.

Fig. 3 Waller's diagram of veins of ore at Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir (*Essay on the Value of the Mines late of Sir Carbery Price*, 1698).

When all is said and done, Waller had been in charge of that mine since 1691, but to gain Mackworth's interest and money, he had compromised its possibilities, and was left with the consequences. Even before the lottery, he tells us, he had secured leases on other mines, including Cwmsymlog, one of the richest in silver, where Shepherd had lately been continuing the old Bushell adit – surely it had no great distance to go, and then all would be well. In encouraging the Company to spread its net as wide as possible – it took up 28 leases – he embroiled it in further heavy expense of deadwork in some very doubtful cases – 15 out of 25 mines were unproductive in 1703–8. Any operating surplus was bound to be more than wiped out, for only three of the mines, besides Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir, produced a three-figure tonnage, against high deadwork costs.⁴⁰ It was a sad story. In the end, Waller was dismissed for incompetence (1709), but lack of judgement would have been a sounder reason for doing so.

As early as December, 1699 Mackworth began to realize that he had made a bad mistake. 'Let me know the worst,' he wrote to Waller, 'pray send me an exact account whether you have found ore in the great vein. Do not forget this in your next, that I may not write untruth, but pen things conscientiously . . . if you think the mines will not answer, we had better give

⁴⁰ S. Evans, 'An Examination of Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Industrial Activities, with Special Reference to the Governor and Company of the Mine Adventurers of

England' (University of Wales, MA thesis, 1950), p. 278, Appendix G. See Waller, *The Mine Adventure*, pp. 30, 55.

[7]

An ACCOUNT

OF THE

Refining of $\frac{7}{16} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{7}{7}$ Lead at Neath, for Account of the Governour and Company of the *Mine-Adventurers of England*; from the 29th December 1701, to the 12th of February following, viz.

Tun. C. gr. lb		l. s. d.	
The Lead Refined $\frac{7}{16} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{7}{7}$ valued at Neath at 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ Tun—		449 16 6	
The Charge of refining the said Lead.			
To 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ Bushels of Bone-Ashes expended at 4s $\frac{3}{4}$ Bushel —		9 18 —	
W. $\frac{2}{4}$ Days.			
To 11 $\frac{1}{2}$: 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Coals expended at 20s. $\frac{3}{4}$ Weigh —		11 6 10	
To Workmens Wages paid as followeth, viz.			
Paid Samuel Ackroyd — for 5 Weeks at 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ Week.		4 0 0	
John Parry — for 6 Weeks at 12 —		3 12 0	
Richard Nelms — for 5 Weeks at 12 —		3 0 0	
Jacob Foster — for 6 Weeks at 10 —		3 0 0	
Thomas Forrest — for 6 Weeks at 9 —		2 14 0	
Michael Parker — for 6 Weeks at 8 —		2 8 0	
John Jennings — for 6 Weeks at 8 —		2 8 0	
Robert Reynolds — for 5 Weeks at 7 —		1 15 0	
Richard Gafceyne — for 5 Weeks at 7 —		1 15 0	
Samuel Shelton — for 4 Weeks at 4 —		1 6 0	
Charles Evans — for 5 Weeks at 4 —		1 0 0	
Hopkin Evan — for 4 Weeks at 3 —		12 0	
Evan Hepkin — for 4 Weeks at 2 6 —		10 0	
Benjamin Alathew — for 4 Weeks at 3 6 —		14 0	
To 220 Casks for the Litharge, at 20d. $\frac{3}{4}$ Cask —		18 6 8	
To heading Ditto 2d. $\frac{3}{4}$ Cask —		1 16 8	
To Smiths Work and Iron for mending Tools —		2 4 3	
To 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Dozen Candles expended at 5s. $\frac{3}{4}$ Dozen —		0 17 6	
To mending the Refining Bellows —		0 5 0	
The Charges of Refining said Lead		72 18 11	
The Value of the Lead, and Charge of Refining it		522 15 5	
The said Lead Refined produced as followeth, viz.			
oz. pw. gr. Bullion — at 5 $\frac{6}{8}$ per Ounce —		123 19 —	
Tun. C. gr. lb And $\frac{7}{16} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{7}{7}$ Litharge valued at Neath at 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ Tun —		564 — 7	
The Value of the Bullion and Litharge		687 19 7	
By which Account it appears,			
That the Bullion and Litharge produced from the said Lead amounts to		687 19 7	
That the Lead and Charges of Refining it exceedeth not		522 15 5	
And that there is gained by Refining the said $\frac{7}{16} : \frac{4}{4} : \frac{2}{2} : \frac{7}{7}$ Lead —		165 4 2	
Which is £ 31 : 12 : 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ 100l. clear Profit.			
Errors Excepted, <i>Thos. Horne.</i>			

TABLE 5

them up.' Too late: credit had to be kept up, and a few weeks later he writes again, begging Waller to raise ore 'with pumps or engines or anything . . . though it cost £40 a ton.'⁴¹ To improve the efficiency of smelting at Garreg, Mackworth obtained advice from a Flintshire entrepreneur, Daniel Peck, and eventually bought his business, but thereupon Peck turned out to be bankrupt, and more money went on extricating his plant and equipment.⁴² Nevertheless, there was a soaring silver-output at Neath in May, 1705 from 19 lb. to 223 lb., and it needs little explanation. Flintshire ore, imported under colour of improving the fusibility of Cardiganshire ore, was silver-rich, and it was in pigs of very mixed metal that rich lead now began to reach the refinery. Under Peck's influence, too, Mackworth visited the Derbyshire leadfield, where the Pitcoal & Seacoal company also had important mines. 'I have been at Derby, Wirksworth, Chattsworth, and the Peke, etc.,' he wrote to Waller; 'I hope we shall, one way or other, set this Company on a noble and lasting foundation. Quantities will raise credit, credit will bring in money, money will bring in profit.'⁴³ The Mine Adventurers were 'of England' (in which Wales was subsumed), and in this transaction, therefore, deceit lay only in passing off bought-in ore or lead as Cardiganshire metal from mines at last productive.

There are two full sets, crown to sixpence, of the Mine Adventurers' coinage. The first, cleared on May 10, 1706, represents 189 lb.t.s. struck with the 1705 date. The second sprang from no fewer than 10 lots, 666 lb.t.s. in all, delivered on February 24, 1707/8, plus another three lots of 181½ lb.t.s., delivered on March 24, the last day of Old Style 1707. Part of the February consignment was released ('solved', in Mint jargon) on 31 March, and accounts for our shillings and sixpences dated 1707. The rest was cleared on 16 April and 6 May, with date 1708.⁴⁴ All this coin must have had far more to do with Derbyshire and Flintshire than Cardiganshire, though passed off as Cardiganshire silver. It is recorded, indeed, that only 3,657 tons of all kinds of ore were raised between 1703 and 1708, at a cost of about 48s. a ton, more than doubled by the cost of smelting at Garreg, and of freightage to Neath or Bristol.⁴⁵

To have entered so blithely on such an undertaking without a careful analysis and projection of costs seems astonishing, but the means of doing so were even less developed than they are today, when the Channel Tunnel, say, can work out at double the estimate: so common an error may sometimes be deliberate, to encourage acceptance of a project. The need for a fresh injection of cash was obvious, and Mackworth, with virtually complete control, was able to carry into effect his earlier notion for a credit bank. With the charter of April, 1704 in his pocket, in early July he set up the Mine Adventure Bank, with subscriptions payable in the Company's own scrip and a modicum of cash.⁴⁶ It is said that £88,000 passed through the bank, but it was a shady concern, employing paid agents to circulate its bills of exchange.⁴⁷ It was also unfortunate. The fledgling Bank of England, though nominally a monopoly under its second Act, of 1697, was threatened by the activities of the Sword Blade Company, which, nearly divorced from its original purpose of making hollow-grooved blades, was now competitive in the lucrative field of financing Government expenditure.⁴⁸ Thus, under pressure from the Bank of England, an Act was passed in 1707, forbidding from the end of September 1708 any institution with more than six members, other than the Bank of England, issuing bills of exchange payable on demand or at less than six months' sight, and in 1708 the same

⁴¹ Quoted, Moses Stringer, *Opera Mineralia Explicata* (1713), p. 275, and *JHC*, 360. The £40 figure is absurd.

⁴² Rees, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 550-4.

⁴³ *JHC*, 362. The phrase is also used by Waller of the acquisition of mineral leases, BL 444.a.51, 25. Mackworth's 'noble foundation' is revealing.

⁴⁴ Mint 9/181.

⁴⁵ Evans, 'An Examination of Sir Humphrey Mackworth's Industrial Activities . . .', p. 278, Appendix G. Freightage, BL

522.m.12 (115) – though Waller, *The Mine Adventure*, p. 7, gives 18s. 6d. a ton. The figures cited by Evans are from John Murgatroyd, appointed book-keeper at the mines in June, 1704, and may be taken as reliable.

⁴⁶ Scott, *The Constitutions and Finance . . .*, p. 451 (with erroneous date).

⁴⁷ *JHC*, 368. The sum of £88,049, 13s. 9d. (*An Abstract of the Defence . . .* (1710)) [BL 522.m.12 (42)], 26 was, I assume, largely for the bank (and mostly paid in scrip).

⁴⁸ J. Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (1933 ed.), ch. 3.

prohibition was included in a further Act.⁴⁹ All Mackworth's hopes collapsed, the Company having failed to have an exception incorporated in the 1708 Bill. In March, the Company suspended payment on its bills. The 'Sword-Blade-Men' were equally affected, but with their Irish land-holdings less injured. Asked why, Shiers, now the Mine Adventurers' Secretary, is reported to have made the sardonic reply, 'because they did not keep their cash in Wales.'⁵⁰

Already, in April 1706, one T.S. had written to Defoe's paper, the *Review*, asking his opinion of a scheme for converting the 6 per cent debentures into perpetual annuities (and thus relieving the Company of an obligation to repay the principal). The enquiry was doubtless inspired: Defoe was known to hate all the tricks of stock-jobbing and credit ('an *Ignis Fatuus* that draws People into Ditches and Dirt'), and on April 30 he goes carefully into the matter. Using the Company's Accountant, Thomas Horne's published accounts, he proved beyond question that the whole affair was fraudulent.⁵¹ Table 5 reproduces a page of those accounts, as an example. The costs seem scrupulously noted, down to the repair of the bellows, and there is no reason whatever to doubt the quantity of silver extracted, but as Defoe pointed out, the valuation of the litharge at £10 a ton was no more than that, and did not correspond to sales – indeed, he asks, were such vast quantities saleable? He also makes a point so important, and yet so obvious, that one cannot understand – yet again – how 'clear profit' on refining could be taken as clear profit on the business as a whole, when no accounts were offered of the mining activities. He suggested that the price of the rich lead given, £8 a ton in Horne's accounts, was what it actually cost to produce, 'otherwise they would have told the world the contrary.' Annuities, in short, would have to be paid out of capital – as long as it lasted. The accounts of each part of the enterprise were never dovetailed.

To any attentive subscriber, the suspension of the Mine Adventure Bank's trading cannot have been a surprise. The lost momentum – as in the vast crash of the Mississippi Company in France, and the coming South Sea Bubble in this country – proved fatal as suspicion built up. Waller in desperation put the labour-force on to work in what veins were accessible, leaving off all deadwork in the levels. Discontent over pay delays and the like brought a strike, and Mackworth first suspended him and then dismissed him in May 1709. He was a dangerous enemy.⁵² The Adventurers, dismayed at the turn of events, at his prompting agitated for, and got, a House of Commons enquiry at which his and other evidence was sufficient to bring in the verdict that Mackworth, Dykes (the cashier or Treasurer), and Shiers were all guilty of fraud, and were forbidden to leave the country or to alienate their estates. The report of the enquiry occupies ten closely-printed pages in a massive folio volume of the *House of Commons Journals*.⁵³ The Company was a good £33,000 in debt.⁵⁴ Fortunately for Mackworth, a Tory ministry came in, and the affair was buried. Mackworth survived to be compared in a new credit venture – on paper only – with John Law,⁵⁵ and Waller, reinstated by the shareholders, was hounded by him as late as 1721.

⁴⁹ 6 Anne ch. 50, § 10; 7 Anne ch. 30, § 66. Joint-stock banking, except for the Bank of England, was thus suppressed for a century, but smaller partnerships continued, indeed the Sword Blade Bank was thus formally constituted in 1712.

⁵⁰ Waller, *The Mine Adventure*, p. 5.

⁵¹ T.S. was most probably Thomas Shephard, who is recorded (*JHC*, 368) as having been paid £10 'for continuing his Cash in the Office'. See the *Review* iii, 203, 205–8, and 231, noting threats made as a result of this *exposé*. Thomas Horne's refining accounts (1705) are in BL as 522.m.12 (9).

⁵² 'Now you see how maliciously they use each other . . . to unravel all the secret Stratagems used by these two Heroick Worthies . . . would take up more time than I can spare at present' (Moses Stringer, *Opera Mineralia Explicata*, note 41, pp. 225, 268). The figures uttered by both sides in their plethora of self-justificatory pamphlets are a wilderness. That

the enterprise was ill-conducted and ill-controlled with no proper accounts centrally maintained is all too obvious.

⁵³ *JHC*, 358–68, cf. 311, 391.

⁵⁴ *JHC*, 362, has £33,296 'at the time of the advertisement' for the dividend, 'above what could be answered by their cash and bullion'. Mackworth's figure was £15,375 'over and above goods and valuable effects', whatever that may mean, as £9,287, 3s. 9¹/₂d. is given for these in the same account [BL 522.m.12 (38)]. Mackworth certainly put a lot of money into the Company, and his personal fortune was apparently £2,600 in deficit (Evans, 'An Examination', p. 288).

⁵⁵ Comparison, BL 8223.d.7. The second edition of Law's *Money and Trade Considered* appeared in 1720, when he was at the height of his financial prowess in France (see H. Montgomery Hyde, *John Law* (1969 ed.)), Mackworth's *New Scheme offered for the Payment of Public Debts* is also of 1720.



Fig. 4 Real and *phantom feathers coins: *crown, 1728, *halfcrown 1731; shilling, 1731; sixpence, 1728 (Folkes, *Table of Silver Coins*, ed. Gifford, 1763, pl. xl; reproduced in Ruding, *Annals*, 1st ed. 1817).

The Mine Adventure was thoroughly lamed, but in 1711 was rebuilt on a less dramatic basis.⁵⁶ There was doubtless some expectation that the labours of deadwork at the mines would at long last reap their reward, but the Company does not seem to have achieved much. No silver identifiably theirs reached the Mint, but in that case, what are we to make of the shillings of 1727 and 1731, and the sixpence of 1728? Was silver refined from the mere 196 tons of ore – though from good argentiferous veins at ‘eternized’ Talybont and Cwmsymlog – pledged or sold?⁵⁷ If so, it might well have reached the Mint under another bringer’s name. However, warrants – three of them – there would have to have been.

I will add to this mystery another. In 1763, the Society of Antiquaries published a new edition of Martin Folkes’ *Tables of Silver and Gold Coins* (1745) completed by Andrew Gifford, a Fellow who was a dissenting minister of consequence, a numismatist whose collection was important enough to be bought by George II, and from 1757 Assistant Librarian of the British Museum. Folkes’ own plates were incomplete, some indeed unfinished, and quite how much of the 1763 detail was carried over from his notes, and how much newly added by Gifford, is obscure. The description of the plates, however, is certainly Gifford’s responsibility, and it is on Pl. XL that we find not only a 1731 shilling and a 1728 sixpence, but a 1728 feathers crown and a 1731 halfcrown (Fig. 4).⁵⁸ These are notorious phantoms, and not the only ones in that book, but the chequered history of the feathers coinage leaves open the possibility that warrants were sued out for a full series in those years, and that record of them reached Folkes, or Gifford. That this is not absurd is suggested by the record in State Papers of warrants for 1727 shillings and 1730 crowns and halfcrowns obtained by the Welch Copper Company but never implemented, although a quantity of their bullion reached the Mint.⁵⁹ The market-price of silver being above the constant Mint price of 5s. 2d. per oz., as a general rule, would account for these peculiarities; Conduitt, for example, relates that between December 1717 and August 1728 bar-silver averaged 5s. 4½d.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Scott, *The Constitutions and Finance*, pp. 454–8; see 9 Anne ch. 26.

⁵⁷ Lewis, *Lead Mining in Wales*, p. 93 (Allt-y-crib is a more precise name for Talybont). Too much time and money were being sunk in deadwork – 840 fathoms of it (Bick, *The Old Metal Mines* iii, p. 21). There appears to have been further production, chiefly of copper in West Montgomeryshire (cf. Bick, vi, *ibid.*, pp. 11–16, from Wynnstay Papers, 5319, in the Clwyd Record Office) with Waller in charge; but what effect this work had on silver-production, and under whose auspices silver reached the Mint, I do not know.

⁵⁸ For Gifford see *DNB*, and see Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956), pp. 95–6. The plates are

used in the various editions of Ruding’s *Annals of the Coinage*. As regards the pieces in question, in ed. 1 (1817) iii, p. 386 a comment reads ‘Numbers 9 and 10 are not now to be found in any Collection.’ Hawkins, in *The Silver Coins of England* (1841), p. 241, denies their existence altogether. I would not gainsay that; but warrants are a different matter.

⁵⁹ *Cal. Treasury Papers 1720–1728*, p. 204, gives the original W.C.C. grant under March 25, 1723. Further warrants are recorded in *Cal. Treasury Books and Papers 1731–1734* pp. 2 and 13, under January 7 and February 5, 1730/1. In all, 670½ lb. of their silver was cleared between May 4, 1727 and May 10, 1732 (Mint 9/193, 194).

⁶⁰ Conduitt, see note 26, p. 200.

I end with something different. Companies would balance the *éclat* of a distinctive coinage against the market-price of bullion, and dispose of it accordingly; but there was also the *éclat* of gifts for services received, or perhaps sought. Through Mackworth, the Adventurers presented the Borough of Neath with a silver seal, and at least the silver for a fine pair of maces engraved by Sturt, who also engraved the plate for their own specie notes.⁶¹ There was a proposal, also – if no more – for a £10 piece of plate to be presented to Thomas Mansel of Briton Ferry, a neighbouring and subsequently troublesome coalowner.⁶² The only known piece connected with the mines, however, is the jug with fluted belly, standing nearly a foot high and weighing 42 oz., in the National Museum of Wales. On the basal underside is the engraved legend *The Mines of Bwlch-yr-Eskir-hir*. There is no hallmark, but the maker's mark impressed more than once on the upper part, SM crowned, is that of Jonathan Smith of London, in the form – using the first two letters of the surname – introduced in 1697 to mark plate of the Britannia standard of 11 oz. 10 dwt. (instead of the sterling minimum of 11 oz. 2 dwt.) in order to deter silversmiths from melting down coin of the realm. Smith had died by 1710. There are arms on the neck, of Powell of Nanteos and Pryse of Gogerddan, with others, but the vessel has no history.⁶³ It is an odd and intriguing piece which has undergone alterations, and it has indeed been regarded as a confection employing, for the lower part, some small open form such as a salt. The inscription would certainly best relate to the heady days following Sir Carbury Pryse's lawsuit in 1692 and his subsequent establishment of a company to work that mine. The agreement to sell to Mackworth was not concluded until August, 1698,⁶⁴ when any article of plate would probably have carried reference to the Fortunate Mine Adventurers of England, or even to 'The Welsh Potosi'. More work remains to be done on the vessel – indeed, on the records of the period surveyed – but we may justly conclude that Sir Carbury's heirs came out better from their involvement with Bwlch-yr-Esgair-hir than did the clever entrepreneur.

KEY TO THE PLATE

Cardiganshire silver and the feathers coinage, 1671–1731: some examples. **1–3:** CHARLES II – shilling, 1671, first issue of the Undertakers for the working of Mines Royal in the Counties of Cardigan and Merioneth; halfcrowns, 1673, variety with plain reverse, 1683. **4:** JAMES II – shilling, 1685. **5–7:** WILLIAM III – sixpence, 1698, first issue of the Company of Mine Adventurers; sixpence, 1700; halfcrown, 1701. **8–9:** ANNE – halfcrown, 1705; crown, 1708. **10–11:** GEORGE II – sixpence, 1728; shilling, 1727 (National Museum of Wales, except nos 2 (British Museum), 4 and 5 (private collections)).

⁶¹ G.A. Taylor, *Trans. Neath Antiq. Soc.* iii (1933), 35–8, cf. v (1936), p. 40; Grant Francis, p. 93, is inaccurate.

⁶² Grant Francis, p. 87, citing a minute of 1699.

⁶³ Sotheby's, March 6, 1958, lot 62. No history given. The

vessel might yield to detailed investigation, and likewise the arms engraved upon it.

⁶⁴ Rees, *Industry before the Industrial Revolution*, p. 531.



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RECENT COIN HOARDS FROM WALES, 1985–1992

EDWARD BESLY

SINCE the flurry of significant coin hoards from Wales between 1979 and 1981, which have been published elsewhere,¹ the principality has reverted to its more normal pattern of occasional hoard finds, of modest size. The following eight small hoards of English coins have been recorded under treasure trove procedures at the National Museum of Wales between 1985 and 1992.²

1. Monmouth, Gwent, 1991/2

Late in 1991 or early in 1992, the following twelve Anglo-Saxon coins were found by use of a metal detector on the Buckholt, a prominent hill two kilometres north of Monmouth. The coins were shown to the Monmouth Archaeological Society, but in spite of patient encouragement from the society and others, the finder did not make them available for official examination or treasure trove proceedings. Subsequent investigation by Gwent Constabulary confirmed the facts of the find, but the coins had by then been lost and may never become available for detailed recording.³ The sole record of the coins is therefore that made by the finder.

The coins are said to have been scattered over several square feet on a steep slope and are said all to be of the CRVX type (*BMC* iia) of Æthelræd II, with reverse legends stated to be as follows:

1. LEOSIGE M-O GLEA	(Leofsige, Gloucester)	<i>parallels</i> ⁴ :	I.435–9; V.235
2. PL.....E M-O GLEA	(Wihtsige, Gloucester)		I.440–3; V. –; C.360
3. ÆLFGET M-O HERE	(Aelfget, Hereford)		I.445–7; V.236
4. BYRHSTAN M-O HERE ('HE ligated')	(Byrhstan, Hereford)		I.448–9; V. –; C.427–8
5. LEOFRIC M-O GIEL	(Leofric, Ilchester)		I.481–2; V.251; <i>SCBI</i> 36,260
6. GOD M-O LVNDO	(Goda, London)		I.701–5; V.363; C.812–13
7. GO. DO, 'sheared coin'	(Goda?, London)		as no.6?
8. OSPOLD M-O SNOT	(Oswold, Nottingham)		I.863–6; V.436; C.1104
9. ÆDELPIÆN M-O OXNA	(Aethelwine, Oxford)		I.872–3; V. –; C.1043–4
10. ÆLFRIC M-O SVDBYR	(Aelfric, Southwark)		I.915–27; V.449–55
11. TVN.....O SVDBY	(Tuneman, Southwark)		I.997–1002; V.498–502
12.IN M-O EO....	(?, York)		?

The list of parallels is by no means exhaustive, but serves to indicate that the readings provided are nearly all consistent with coins of known moneyers in the CRVX type, eleven of them being mint/moneyer combinations represented by two or more examples in the Igelösa hoard. Confidence in the finder's readings is increased by the observations that the British Museum's specimen corresponding to no. 4 has H and E of 'HERE' ligated and the BM's penny of Leofric of Ilchester has the same reading 'GIEL', presumably the same die.⁵ The mint

¹ G.C. Boon, *Welsh Hoards 1979–1981* (Cardiff, 1986); *ibid.*, 'A Great Recoinage Hoard from Builth', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 134 (1985), 210–24. The 1986 Gwent finds of third century Roman coins from Bassaleg (904) and Caerleon (51) have been published by the writer in *CHRB* IX (1992), pp. 87–104.

² The Cefn Coed and Allt-yr-Yn finds were dealt with by George Boon when Keeper of Archaeology and Numismatics at the National Museum.

³ It was stated that the coins had been stolen in Hereford in December 1992 whilst in the keeping of a friend of the finder.

⁴ Coins of similar type from the Igelösa and Värpinge hoards (K. Jonsson, *Viking Age Hoards and Late Anglo-Saxon Coins* (Stockholm, 1987), pp. 132–40 and 123–31) and the Copenhagen collection (*SCBI* 7).

⁵ Byrhstan, Hereford: BM 1975-11-26, 27 (H.H. King); Leofric, Ilchester: BM 1928-5-7, 16.

reading [LVN]DO tends to confirm that no. 7 is a cut half of the same type as no. 6. At Oxford, 'ÆDELPIEN' is a curiosity, which might arise from a misreading of 'ÆDELPINE' with N and E ligated, as BMC 297. The sole uncertainty surrounds no. 12, which was said to be badly corroded. The likely moneyer is [Dahf]in, who is known at York in Æthelræd's CRVX, Helmet and Last Small Cross and Cnut's Quatrefoil types.⁶ However, other interpretations are possible: if, for instance, the character read as 'I' were the right half of an 'A' [+OBA]N M-O EO[FRPI], as SCBI 21 no. 71, would be a possible candidate.

Finds of Anglo-Saxon coins of any period from South Wales are very rare, although a small group of finds of Æthelræd II is beginning to emerge. In addition to Monmouth, one other hoard and four single finds are recorded:

Caerwent, Gwent, 1909	single find	CRVX; Lincoln, Leofman	<i>Arch Camb</i> 119 (1970), 16–17
Penrice, Gower, 1825	hoard	c. 30 Helmet pennies. Eleven coins were recorded in detail, from Barnstaple, Bath, Canterbury, Cricklade, Exeter, 'Gothabyrig' (this coin now in N.M.W.), Lincoln (2), London, Winchester (2). NC 1959, 187–8; Boon, 1986, pp. 102–3	
St Lythans, S. Glam., 1993	single find	Helmet; Lydford, Bruna	Coin Register 1993, no. 218, below, p.151
Sully Moors, S. Glam., 1989	single find	Last Small Cross; Shaftesbury, Aelfwine	<i>BNJ</i> 59 (1990), 230 Coin Register, no. 83
Llanstephan, Dyfed, date?	single find	Last (?) Small Cross; London, Wulfryd	Boon, 1986 (n.1), p. 18 fn 53 ⁷

The Penrice and Monmouth hoards conform with the general pattern of other 'smaller' British hoards of the time in consisting of single types.⁸ The closest parallels to Monmouth appear to be Isleworth, 1886 and Bradda Head, I.O.M., c. 1848.⁹ The last, of which twelve coins from several hundred of BMC iiiia–c were recorded, includes a wide spread of mints, while the twenty-eight from Isleworth (again part of a larger hoard) show a strong regional bias, including sixteen London, four Rochester and three Canterbury coins, with single examples from Colchester, Exeter, Maldon, Thetford and Winchester. Allowing for the smaller numbers involved, the presence of two each from the relatively minor mints of Gloucester and Hereford also gives the Monmouth group a distinctly 'regional' composition.

The finding of a late tenth century hoard close to Monmouth is also important in local terms. Recent excavations in Monmouth have produced no coins earlier than William II, but small amounts of possible tenth century 'Chester' ware hint at earlier origins for the town. Given the general scarcity of coins of the period west of the Severn, the nearby presence of a hoard provides significant support for this view. In 997, 'the Danes went around Devonshire into the mouth of the Severn, and there ravaged in Cornwall, Wales and Devon'; the continuing vulnerability of the area to Viking raids might provide a valid context for the non-recovery of the hoard.

⁶ K. Jonsson and G. Van der Meer, 'Mints and moneyers c.973–1066', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, edited by K. Jonsson (Stockholm, 1990), at p. 117. The CRVX and Helmet records are from 'Swedish published or unpublished finds'.

⁷ Given there as First Small Cross. Jonsson and Van der Meer (n.6) record a London moneyer of this name from c.1003 (Helmet); Wulfryd, spelt thus, is known in Last Small Cross (SCBI 7, 958).

⁸ M.A.S. Blackburn, 'The Welbourn (Lincs.) hoard 1980–82 of Æthelred II coins', *BNJ* 55 (1986), 79–83.

⁹ M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A revised check-list of coin hoards from the British Isles, c.500–1100', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History*, edited by M.A.S. Blackburn (Leicester, 1986), pp. 291–313, nos 184 and 186.

2. *Slebech, Pembrokeshire (Dyfed), 1991 (Plate 10, 1–12)*

Twelve Short Cross coins (ten pennies and two cut halves) were found early in December 1991 by use of a metal detector.¹⁰ The coins were scattered in ploughsoil on land in Slebech Park, near Haverfordwest. The find was declared promptly to the local coroner, who deemed it not to be treasure trove. All of the coins are of classes Ib–c, apart from one IVa; none is noticeably worn, suggesting a date for their loss around 1195–1200.

The find comprises:

	<i>Class</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Moneyer</i>	<i>Weight, die-axis</i>	
1.	Ib	Lincoln	Hugo	1.38g, 0°	
2.		London	Gefrei	1.37g, 280°	
3.		London	Pierres	1.36g, 150°	
4.		Northampton	Raul	1.33g, 0°	
5.	I(b?)	Northampton?	—	0.66g, 270°	cut 1/2d
6.	Ib	Oxford	Owe(in)	0.78g, 180°	cut 1/2d
7.	Ic	London	Raul	1.30g, 350°	
8.		London	Raul	1.27g, 0°	
9.		London	Raul	1.22g, 180°	(chipped)
10.		London	Raul	1.16g, 135°	(chipped)
11.		Winchester	Gocelm	1.37g, 160°	
12.	IVa	London	Stivene	1.37g, 30°	

Slebech resembles the somewhat larger Scotforth (Lancs.) hoard in closing with a single IVa. It contains no class III, but its small size reduces any possible significance of this.¹¹ The findspot lies within 200 metres of the Commandery and church of the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem at Slebech, which was in their possession by 1176.¹² This would appear to be only the second hoard of the Short Cross period reported from Wales, the other being the late Wrexham hoard of 1926, which closed with a single VIIIB.¹³ The 'thirty-eight silver coins or shillings of Henry I' found in a grave in Llangurig churchyard (Montgomery) c.1753 may perhaps record another, although the reference might imply a later, groat hoard.¹⁴

3. *Cefn Coed, Mid Glamorgan, 1986*

A hoard of thirty-one silver pennies, comprising twenty-six Edwardian sterlings, two Irish pennies of Edward I and three pennies of Alexander III of Scotland, was found around 20 May 1986 by Mr J.L. Haymer, in his garden at Morlais Villa, Lower Vaynol Road, Cefn Coed-y-cymmer, near Merthyr Tydfil (SO 03280805). The find was declared treasure trove at an inquest at Merthyr Tydfil on 16 July 1986. Nine coins (nos 3, 4, 11, 14, 15, 17, 19, 26, 27 in the following list) were purchased by the National Museum of Wales and the remainder returned to the finder.

¹⁰ I am very grateful to Mr Arthur Duncan, the finder, for informing the National Museum of the find, and for his generosity in promptly making it available for recording.

¹¹ 'Scotforth, Lancashire, 1854', in M.M. Archibald and B.J. Cook, *English Medieval Coin Hoards* vol I (BM Occasional Paper, forthcoming).

¹² J. Rogers Rees, 'Slebech Commandery and the Knights of St John', *Arch Camb* 1897–99, in several parts.

¹³ J.M. Lewis, *BNJ* 39 (1971), 19–23; Boon, 1986, pp. 106–9. Small numbers of Short Cross coins from south and west Wales are seen sporadically at the N.M.W., while recent discoveries from Llanfaes (Anglesey), as yet unpublished, point to the very active use of coinage in this commercial centre of the native Welsh throughout the thirteenth century.

¹⁴ R.C.A.M. *Wales and Monmouthshire. I. Montgomeryshire* (1911), p. 108 no. 555.

England

1: Bristol, IXb; 2–4: Bury, Xcf, Xf, XIV; 5–11: Canterbury, IVd, Xcf, crown 3 (5), XVa; 12–14: Durham, Xcf (2), XIb; 15: Kingston-upon-Hull, IXb; 16–26: London, IIIId, IIIg (with pellet-barred Ns on obv.), VIIla, IXa, IXb, Xb, Xcf (2), XVc.

Ireland

27–28: Edward I, Waterford mint pennies, second coinage (2)

Scotland

29–31: Alexander III, sterling pennies (3)

There is one coin of numismatic interest, the IIIg penny of Edward I with pellet-barred Ns on the obverse (**pl.10, 13**). The significance of this feature has received differing interpretations.¹⁵

The latest coins are a little worn, so the Cefn Coed deposit, like those from Neath Abbey, was probably deposited at the end of Edward II's reign, when the turmoil in Glamorgan over the king's flight and the searches for the dispersed royal treasure would have caused many prudent people to conceal their cash. Another modest hoard of sterlings, 'several silver pennies of Edward I and one of Alexander I (*sic*) of Scotland', was found in 1859 at Morlais Castle, about two kilometres away to the north east.¹⁶

Tudor and Stuart hoards*4. Cemaes Bay, Anglesey (Gwynedd), 1987–8*

Eight coins of Elizabeth I were found on 26 November 1987 and 27 February 1988, by use of a metal detector. They were scattered over an area of about seven square metres adjacent to a former footpath. There being no evidence for concealment, the coins were not regarded as treasure trove.

England

1–3.	Elizabeth I	Shillings	Martlet (1560–1), 5.68g; Bell (1583), 5.84g; Crescent (1587–90), 5.74g
4–8.		Sixpences	Lion 1567, 2.63g; Coronet? 1567, 2.59g; Coronet 1568, 2.82g; Scallop 1585, 2.78g; Tun 1593, 3.11g

The coins are corroded, but none is greatly worn. The finds appear to represent a purseful of coins lost around the turn of the seventeenth century.

¹⁵ R.H.M. Dolley, 'An unpublished minor variety of a penny of Edward I', *NC* 1957, 244–5; J.J. North, *NCirc* 1981, 399 and *SCBI* 39 (1989), p. 5; N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type* (1983), p. 29; M.M. Archibald, in *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971–81*, edited by E.J.E. Pirie (1986), at p. 60.

¹⁶ Neath: R.H.M. Dolley, *BNJ* 28 (1958), 294–8 and 555–9;

Boon, 1986, pp. 109–12. Morlais Castle: *Arch Camb* 1859, 101. A further local find (of 20–30 coins, said to include Edward III and David (II), and so later, if genuine) in woodland 'near Merthyr Tydfil' was reported by telephone on 8 Oct. 1991, but an appointment to show the coins at the N.M.W. was not kept.

5. Mynydd Fochriw, Mid Glamorgan, 1991

A hoard of eight silver coins was found by a metal detectorist on 28 April 1991, on common land on the north side of Mynydd Fochriw, near Merthyr Tydfil (SO 09980506). Subsequent excavation by the National Museum of Wales indicated that the coins had lain on an old surface at the side of a probable hillside way. The spot is a remote one, even today. A coroner's inquest at Merthyr Tydfil on 25 September 1991 ruled that the coins were not treasure trove.

England

1.	Elizabeth I	Shilling	Crosslets, 4.84g (clipped)
2–3.		Sixpences	Coronet 1570, 2.40g; Crescent 1589, 2.58g
4.	James I	Half crown	3rd coinage, Trefoil, N.2122, 14.34g
5.		Shilling	2nd coinage, 2nd bust, Lys, 5.48g
6.	Charles I	Halfcrown	Tun, 13.93g
7.		Shilling	Harp, Sharp D5/1, 5.53g

Ireland

8.	James I	Shilling	Tower Mint, 2nd coinage, 4th bust, Rose, 3.81g
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The find again appears to represent a modest sum of ready money (9s 9d), lost at the side of a hillside thoroughfare around 1638–40. The latest coin (no.6) is unworn. The Irish shilling is both worn and bent, as is usual in hoards of this time. This and the James I half crown have been acquired by the National Museum of Wales.

6. Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan, 1988

A hoard of thirty-five coins was found on 27 September 1988 by two metal detectorists on farmland at Cilfynydd, Pontypridd (ST 086911). The find was declared treasure trove at an inquest at Aberdare on 21 October 1988 and has been acquired by the National Museum of Wales.

England

1–7.	Mary	Groats		7
8.	Philip and Mary	Groat		1
9–12.	Elizabeth I	Groats	Lys; Crosslets (2); uncertain	4
13–26.		Sixpences	N.1997 Pheon 1561 (2); Coronet 1567, 15??; Ermine 1572; Eglantine 1574, 1575, 1577, 15??; Plain cross 1578, 1579; Long cross 1580; N.2015 Scallop 1584; Tun 1592	14
27.		Threepence	N.1998 p.m.?, 15??	1
28.	James I	Shilling	1st coinage, 2nd bust, Thistle	1
29–32.		Sixpences	1/2 Lys 1604; 2/3 Lys 1604; 2/4 Scallop 1606 (2)	4
33–4.	Charles I	Shillings	N.2231 Anchor; N.2232 Triangle	2
35.		Sixpence	N.2241 Tun	1

The latest coin is unworn, which suggests a date of deposit around 1640–2, on the eve of the Civil War. The site of the discovery consists of a rectangular platform bounded by low banks, about 10 (E–W) × 25 (N–S) metres, cut into a steep west-facing hillside above the river Taff, ENE of Pontypridd. Within this, at the northern end, is an uneven mound of stone rubble. Apart from a few strays the coins were found scattered in the western part of this feature; they

appear to have been concealed within a building which subsequently collapsed. Pottery sherds, mainly of the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries, were also found. No building is marked on the local 1841 tithe map, though the first edition 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey, carried out in 1873, marks a patch of rough ground/shrubs at the spot. The site has much in common with the long huts and *hafotai*, or summer dwellings of farmers and shepherds, of which several examples have recently been identified in upland Glamorgan.¹⁷ These have been attributed to the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, which accords with the evidence from the Cilfynydd site.

The Fochriw and Pontypridd hoards are small (£0 9s 9d and £0 16s 9d respectively), and their compositions also demonstrate the slowness of penetration of new money into rural Wales, which at this time was lightly populated and remote. Two other local parallels are the Llysworney and Pendoylan finds from the Vale of Glamorgan, while in North Wales coins of Charles I accounted for only 6.3 and 2.9 per cent respectively of the large hoards from Conwy and Prestatyn.¹⁸ Five or so years later, the picture had changed dramatically under the impact of the Civil War, with Charles's coins comprising 63 per cent (nineteen shillings out of £1 10s) of the nearby Trehafod (Rhondda) find and 75 per cent of the Penybryn (Ruabon, Clwyd) hoard, both deposits of 1644–5.¹⁹

Sovereign hoards

7. *Allt-yr-yn, Newport, Gwent, 1985*

The hoard comprises seven sovereigns and twelve half-sovereigns, all of Queen Victoria, found by metal detectors on land belonging to Strawberry Farm, Allt-yr-yn, Newport (ST 29878884), not far from a barracks erected in 1845. The coins were declared treasure trove at Newport on 31 July 1985, and returned to the finders.

Great Britain

Victoria	Sovereigns	1851, 1863, 1864, 1869, 1872 (2)
	Half-sovereigns	1856, 1867 (2), 1869, 1870, 1871 (2), 1873, 1874, 1876, 1877, 1878

Australia

Victoria	Sovereign	Sydney Mint 1866
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The coins were described in evidence as 'fairly evenly graduated in point of wear from the earliest to the latest' and a date of deposition *c.* 1878–9 postulated. The Sydney mint sovereigns were legal tender in Britain from 1866, and the presence of a specimen close to a seaport is unsurprising.²⁰ The St Pancras (1963) hoard of 62 sovereigns and the Wisbech (1964) hoard of 96 sovereigns and one half, both of which closed in 1875, each included five Sydney sovereigns of Australian type.²¹

¹⁷ P.R. Davies, 'Long-huts in the Rhondda Valley', *Archaeology in Wales* 28 (1988), 37–8; 'Long-huts and hafotai in Upland Glamorgan', *ibid.*, 29 (1989), 66–7.

¹⁸ E. Besly, *English Civil War Coin Hoards*, B.M.O.P. 51 (1987), pp. 89, E14 (Prestatyn); 100, K11 (Conwy); 105, K42 (Llysworney); 106, K49 (Pendoylan).

¹⁹ Besly, *Hoards*, pp. 92–3, F13 (Penybryn) and F14 (Trehafod).

²⁰ J. Sharples, 'Sovereigns of the overseas branches', in *Royal Sovereign 1489–1989*, edited by G.P. Dyer (Llantrisant, 1989), at p. 66.

²¹ M.M. Archibald, *BNJ* 33 (1965), 156–8 (Wisbech); J.P.C. Kent, *BNJ* 37 (1969), 144 (St Pancras).

8. *Llanafan, Dyfed, 1990*

On 8 March 1990, Mr Richard Askie found a hoard of 33 gold coins while planting a new hedge inside the boundary of his property at Eithin Bach, Brynafan, Llanafan (ST 71157275). The coins had been buried in rouleaux in a small metal container, approximately thirty centimetres deep within the boundary bank at the foot of one of three ash trees, which still stand. The hoard was declared treasure trove at an inquest at Aberaeron, Dyfed, on 6 July 1990. It comprises thirty sovereigns and three halves, as follows.

Victoria*Sovereigns* (21)

1.	London	Young Head/shield 1856	7.91g
2.		Young Head/St George 1876	7.92
3–8.		Jubilee Head 1889 (2), 1890 (2), 1892 (2)	7.98, 7.97, 7.99, 7.95, 7.95, 7.99
9–15.		Old Head 1893, 1894, 1896 (2), 1898 (2), 1900	7.98, 8.00, 7.98, 7.96, 7.97, 7.97, 7.99
16.	Sydney	Young Head/shield 1875	7.94
17–19.	Melbourne	Jubilee Head 1888, 1890, 1891	7.96, 7.96, 7.97
20.		Old Head 1893	7.93
21.	Perth	Old Head 1900	7.99

Half-sovereigns (3)

22.	London	Jubilee Head 1892	3.96
23–4.		Old Head 1895, 1899	3.97, 3.92

Edward VII*Sovereigns* (8)

25–30.	London	1906 (2), 1909, 1910 (3)	7.98 (all six coins)
31.	Melbourne	1903	7.95
32.	Perth	1902	7.95

George V*Sovereign* (1)

33.	London	1913	7.98
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The latest coin, of 1913, shows slight signs of wear, so a deposit date of 1914–15, following the outbreak of the Great War, would appear likely. The war curtailed circulation of sovereigns sharply and although they continued to be produced in London until 1917 new issues probably reached remote areas such as west Wales very slowly, if at all. The Llanafan hoard could therefore have been deposited distinctly later than its latest coin. Sovereigns were certainly hoarded in England until at least the late 1920s, since the Atherstone (Warwicks.) hoard, dated by its silver and bronze coins to 1928, contained 69 sovereigns and 79 halves, none later than 1910. On balance, though, the Llanafan hoard was probably buried in 1914; it parallels closely the recent Bentley (Suffolk) find, where there is good evidence for burial in August 1914.²² The proportion of Colonial issues (eight coins: 25.4 percent of the total value), too, is similar and appears to be typical of hoards from rural areas.²³

The weights of the coins are recorded, for completeness, and fully bear out the famous consistency of Royal Mint sovereigns. Over half lie on or within 0.01g of the standard (123.274gr/7.988g), while only four of the sovereigns (including the three oldest) and one half sovereign lie at or below the least current weight of 122.5gr (7.938g) set in 1821 and confirmed in the 1870 Coinage Act.

Thirteen sovereigns and one half (nos 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, 27, 31 and 33) have been acquired by the National Museum of Wales, one sovereign of 1892 and the half-sovereign of that year by the Ceredigion Museum, and the remainder were returned to the finder.

²² M.M. Archibald, *BNJ* 34 (1966), 173–5 (Atherstone); P. Attwood, *BNJ* 62 (1993), 199–200 (Bentley).

²³ G.P. Dyer, pers. comm.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THOMPSON'S *INVENTORY* AND BROWN AND DOLLEY'S *COIN HOARDS* – PART 1

H.E. MANVILLE

ALL who work with post-Roman British coin hoards and finds should be familiar with Thompson's *Inventory*¹ and Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards*.² The material is presented quite differently in these compilations and although both are extremely valuable resources, the first was published almost forty years ago, the second more than twenty. Quite naturally many additions and corrections can be made to each in light of new or newly-uncovered reports.

Thompson's pioneering work often has been criticized for its many shortcomings.³ The work omits and/or misinterprets much easily-obtainable data and contains a number of careless errors which a good editor should have corrected. Nevertheless he performed a valuable service in drawing together material from many sources and it remains a useful starting point for further research. Thompson himself provided a 'recension' after criticism of the archaeological content^{4,5} and listed two pairs of hoards that had come to his attention since publication – to which I have taken the liberty of assigning numbers:

***35a. BATH, Abbey/Priory House, 1755 (A)**

Tenth-century pennies (eighth/ninth-century? *sceattae*). Ref: Metcalf, *NC* 6, 18 (1958), 77–9; Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England* 1 (1845), 169.

***35b. BATH, Abbey/Priory House, 1755 (B)**

50 Anglo-Saxon pennies of Aelfred-Eadred. Deposit c. 955. Ref: Metcalf, *op. cit.*; Lucy, *Essay on Waters* 3, 224.

***361a. TREDINGTON, Warks, 1. c. 1914–30? Deposit: After 1471. About 40 silver coins of Edward I–IV ... apparently survivors of a much larger hoard, discovered at intervals over a number of years...**

361b. TREDINGTON, 2. About 1900? Deposit: Probably late fifteenth century. Content: Unidentified gold coins ... possibly identical with Thompson's *Unknown Sites* 5–7 [Nos 369–371].

No modern student of numismatics can be aware of *all* sources in such a broad area as coin hoards. Thompson certainly knew of *The Gentleman's Magazine* because he cites that publication when it was referred to by others and his failure to consult it in depth is curious.⁶ Whether or not he was aware of *The Scots Magazine* as a possible similar source, he does not cite it.

¹ J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards A.D. 600–1500*. RNS Special Publications No. 1 (Oxford, 1956).

² I.D. Brown, & Michael Dolley, *A Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967*. Royal Numismatic Society & Spink & Son Limited, Special Publication No. 6 (London, 1971).

³ D.M. Metcalf, 'Towards an Archive of British coin Finds', *NCirc* 65 (Feb. 1957), col. 61–9; a review extended by a thoughtful essay on the importance of recording coin finds and hoards. See also S. Rigold, Review of *Inventory*, *Arch. Jour.* 113 (1956), 169–70.

⁴ D.M. Wilson, 'Some archaeological additions and corrections to J.D.A. Thompson's *Inventory*...', *Med. Arch.* 2 (1958), 169–71.

⁵ J.D.A. Thompson, 'Some Additions and Corrections to J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards: A Recension*', *Med. Arch.* 3 (1959), 280–2.

⁶ Metcalf, 62: '(It is clear that the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which is listed in the bibliography, has not been consulted systematically for the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.'

Thompson's alphabetical listing and cross-references, although occasionally aberrant, ease the search when one is looking for a named hoard. Brown and Dolley's numbering system, while useful in grouping all known hoards within specific periods, is more difficult – in spite of a comprehensive name index. To take just one example, *SO* numbers are assigned to hoards deposited in Scotland between 1567 and 1625. The first number in the series list is *SO*26 (Ayr, 1547), the second *SO*1 (Stornoway, 1572), followed by *SO*2 (Braeside, 1573), *SO*3 (Beith, 1574), *SO*24 (Leith?, 1583), etc., with *SO*35 the highest number (there is no *SO*21). After re-ordering the hoards chronologically by date of deposit (where deduced), it would have been helpful to re-number each series.

Brown also published an addendum to the British portion of their joint work⁷ but Dolley did not draw his many corrections and additions to Irish and English hoards into a single listing before his untimely death in 1983. Some of these will be examined in a future note.

The following entries have been extracted and, where appropriate, augmented from entries in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (*GM*), 1731–1845, and *The Scots Magazine* (*SM*), 1739–1826. Identifications of several anonymous authors in *GM* have been provided from *The Nichols File of 'The Gentleman's Magazine'*, by James M. Kuist (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982). Several plates or portions of plates from *GM* have been re-published recently and the locations of these are noted.⁸

The frequently-encountered difficulty of dating hoards, especially pinpointing deposit date and sometimes even discovery date, often leads to a 'best estimate'. The place of discovery in these reports also may be unclear, either through deliberate concealment or vagueness by the finders (not unknown today, particularly after metal-detector finds) – and one must be especially wary of details in any account published in the popular press.

Coin hoards are defined by Brown and Dolley as 'two or more coins which can be presumed to have been deposited or lost on one and the same occasion, and we have included in our listing all bibliographical references, insofar as they are known to us'.⁹ Metcalf has remarked on the usefulness of recording single finds¹⁰ and the few Anglo-Saxon single-coin site finds recorded in the two periodicals that can be identified and/or are illustrated have been included here. Not every single-coin find noted in the two publications is listed below. All pre-600 and post-medieval stray finds have been omitted. The former may safely be left to Professor Anne Robertson; the latter have little or no site relevance.

Thompson included all the specifics he could discover on a hoard; Brown and Dolley gave only a line of location, dates, general makeup (where known), and bibliographical citations. To reconcile these different approaches, relevant details to hoards published in *GM* and *SM* are here given in their entirety, with added material in brackets or notes. Thompson's alphabetical approach suggests the use of *a* and *b* numbers; Brown and Dolley's groupings by presumed deposit dates and only sporadic alphabetic listings call for following-on numbers. Both sets of additions, as well as single finds, are distinguished by an asterisk before the new number. The eighteenth and early nineteenth century penchant for frequent italicizing of names, places, and datelines has here been reduced to conform to current practice.

⁷ I.D. Brown, 'First Addendum to the Bibliography of Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967', *NCirc* 81 (April 1973), 147–51.

⁸ See especially *Ency. ii, I*.

⁹ Brown & Dolley, 7.

¹⁰ Metcalf, 62.

*Inventory of British coin hoards A.D. 600–1500***1. ABERDEEN** No. 1, St Nicholas Street, 7 November 1807. *Add references.*

On the 7th of Nov. the workmen employed in cleaning out the foundations for some new building in the line of the intended opening into Union Street, Aberdeen, discovered a large wooden vessel, at a depth of about ten feet under the level of the street, filled with an immense number of silver coins, mostly of the coinage of Edward I. of England, and Alexander III. of Scotland. No person acquainted with their value being at hand, they were scattered about among the labourers, and have since been mostly sold to the silversmiths in town. The only conjecture that can be formed in regard to this treasure, is, that it had been secreted during the troublesome wars of Edward III. in this kingdom, and afterwards entirely buried in the ruins of the town, at the time of its being burned by the troops of that prince.

– *SM* 69 (Dec. 1807), 955.

Note: The same account was abbreviated in *GM* 77 (Nov. 1807), 1071; also see *PSAS* 119 (1989), 327.

14. ASHBY WOLDS, Leics, October 1788 – 'Details not recorded'. *Add references.*

The coin, fig. 10 . . . was found, with more than 300 other silver coins, in 1789, in digging to repair a mill-poolhead in Ashby Wolds, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire. They were chiefly of the reign of Stephen, or the early Henrys; and they almost all (were) preserved for Lord Moira, the lord of the manor, who now possesses them.

– *GM* 66 (Oct. 1796), 843, pl. 2, fig. 10 (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1*, 112).

In October 1788, about 450 antient coins were found in the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, upon a large common called the Wolds, and in a place thereon known by the name of the Millstone Gutter. They were inclosed in a small leaden box, of an oblong form, which, from the length of time it had lain in the ground, was reduced to a perfect calx, and, on being moved, directly mouldered to pieces. The coins are of various dies; but almost all of them the pennies of King Stephen, except a few of Henry I. Henry II. and Henry III. Upwards of sixty of them were cut into halves, as may be supposed, for half-pennies. About a dozen are in quarters, all clearly divided, for the conveniency of paying quarter-pennies, or farthings. . . . The reason, perhaps, of their being mostly of the reign of King Stephen is, that he granted to Walter Bishop of Coventry, and his successors, a mint at Lichfield, which is not above 14 miles from the place where they were found.

It is remarkable, and a farther confirmation of that great rarity of the Stephen's penny with the martlets on the reverse . . . that, out of more than 400 of those coins of that King's reign, only three and one half are of that particular die. (Stebbing Shaw, jun.)

– *GM* 66 (Dec. 1796), 983.

W. Woolston, Adderbury, submits coins of Alfred the Great, Burgred of Mercia, Edward the Confessor, and 'a penny of Stephen, found with many others on Ashby Wolds (see [*GM*] vol. LXVI. p. 983) circumscribed STIEFN, reverse, GODRIC. The name of the place of mintage is obliterated.'

– *GM* 68 (March 1798), 189, pl. 1 (facing 189), figs. 1–4 (pl. 10, 1, 2)

37. BEAUWORTH, near Cheriton, Hants, 30 June 1833. *Add references.*

As some boys were lately playing in a meadow at Beaworth, near Cheriton, Hants, one of them discovered just under the surface of the earth, a leaden box, which proved on examination to contain about fifteen thousand silver pennies of William the Conqueror and William Rufus, in a most excellent state of preservation. The field in which they were discovered, is the property of John Dunn, Esq. of Alresford, and was formerly, it is believed, used as a burial ground. Mr. Dunn has secured about seven thousand of the coins, a considerable number having been taken away by the boys who found them.

– *GM* 103/2, 27 (1833 ii, Aug.), 163.

Account of old Coins purchased for the British Museum, between Christmas 1832 and Christmas 1833, includes: –

4. Six hundred and fifty-nine pennies of William the Conqueror, found at Beauworth, near [New] Alresford; cost 50 *l.*

– *GM* 3, 1 (1834 i, April), 423–4.

***38a. BECKENHAM?** Kent, autumn 1772 (Saxon? or possibly Celtic or Roman?).

Monday, 30 November. A stone coffin of a vast size was lately dug up in a barn belonging to William Hickmott, at Beckenfield, in Kent, in which were several coins, impressed with the antient British characters. – We shall endeavour to procure a more satisfactory account of this discovery.

– *GM* 42 (Nov. 1772), 542.

Note: Possibly Beckenham, a town in Bromley borough, formerly Kent, now London (TQ 3769). No further account noted.

***41a. BENACRE**, Suffolk (TM 5184), autumn 1767.

Tuesday, 3 November. Some labourers in sinking a well at Benacre in Suffolk, found an earthen jar, containing near 400 pieces of silver coin, the chief part of K. Edward I. and II. and struck at London, York, and Dublin. The workmen honestly carried them to Sir Thomas Gooch, lord of the manor, who rewarded them handsomely for their trouble.

– *GM* 37 (Nov. 1767), 558 bis.

***42a. BETHAM CHURCH**, Westmorland, summer/early autumn? 1834.

In digging a grave near one of the pillars in the nave of the church of Betham, county of Westmoreland, upwards of 100 silver coins, of very high antiquity but in a fine state of preservation, have been discovered. They are chiefly of the reigns of the Norman Conqueror and his son Rufus, with a few of Edward the Confessor and Canute the Dane.

– *GM* 3, 2 (1834 ii, Sept.), 300.

***42b. BIGGLESWADE**, Beds (TL 1844), June? 1770.

Monday, 11 June. A plowman near Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire, threw up a pot of gold coins, supposed of Edward VI. [presumably Edward IV] one of them measured exactly one inch, one quarter, and one eighth in diameter; the representation on one side is a man in armour, in a ship, holding a sword in his right hand, and on his left arm a shield, with four compartments of three lions and three fleur-de-lis. On the other side a large cross equally divided, the legend hardly to be made out. They are of pure gold, of seventeen shillings value.

– *GM* 40 (June 1770), 276 bis.

52. BRAMHAM MOOR, Yorks (SE 4242), early July 1753. *Add reference and refine date from 'before 1756'.*

About the beginning of July, some workmen, digging on Bramham moor, Yorkshire, in the lordship of Sir Edward Gascoign, found a hoard of silver coin, to the number of 245 pieces, besides three rings and two buckles. The coins are all of K. Henry I.'s money, and were a very great treasure in those days.

– *SM* 15 (Aug. 1753), 418.

Note: See Metcalf, *NC* 6, 18 (1958), 79–80, placed at SE 4341.

55. BRECHIN, No. 1, Angus/now Tayside, 30 March 1785. *Add references and details, including Irish coins and suggested deposit date.*

As a grave-digger was making a grave in the church-yard at Brechin on March 30. near the principal entry thereto, and where graves till of late have been seldom dug; after cutting off the sod or swaird, in moving the earth immediately underneath, and within nine inches of the surface, he turned up a vast number of silver pieces, they say, as many as would have filled the crown of a large hat, and amongst these, six silver spoons, with circular mouths, of about two inches diameter. . . .

– All or most of the pieces are about the size of a sixpence, and seem to be the coinage of Edward, as bearing his name, and to have been coined at different places; some of them with a head within a triangle, and on the reverse, a cross with three points in each angle, with CIVITAS DUBLINIE around it.

– At what period that money and these spoons had been deposited or left there, is uncertain. Perhaps it may have been at the time the English under Edward I. laid siege to and took the castle of Brechin, then commanded by Sir Thomas Maule [in 1303]: What leads to this conjecture is, That the church-yard is within less than 300 yards of Brechin Castle, to the north thereof, and divided therefrom by a very hollow and deep den; and the English had been posted in and about the church-yard, and had left the money there.

– . . . The silver pieces are rather more than a drop weight each; all of them have a cross on one side; and . . . have been coined at different places, some at London, others at Durham, &c.'

– *SM* 47 (March 1785), 153.

Note: An abbreviated version of this report was published in *GM* 55 (April 1785), 314.

***57a. BRINKBURN PRIORY**, Nthmb (NZ 1198), late 1834.

Some workmen, forming a new road near Brinkhorn Priory, near Newcastle, lately discovered a small brass pot, containing several gold coins, rose nobles of the first and second coinage of Edward III., and some half and quarter nobles of the same reign, all in perfect state of preservation. The pot and coins are now in the possession of Major Hodgson Cadogan, of Brinkburn.

– *GM* 3, 2 (1834 ii, Dec.), 636.

60. BROWNELEE, Carluke parish, Lanarks., March 1770. *Add reference.*

Edinburgh, March 16. A few days ago a servant belonging to Mr Hervie of Brounlie, in the parish of Carluke, digging in a field adjoining to his master's house, discovered an earthen pot, with a cover of the same, about a foot from the surface of the ground, containing a considerable quantity of old Scottish and English silver coins, of the reigns of David, Robert, and Edward. They are mostly well preserved, and very legible. The inscriptions on many of them are, Civitas London. Civitas Cant. Civitas Aberdon. What is remarkable, there has been an old tradition

current among the country-people there, that a considerable treasure in pots lies concealed in that neighbourhood; and a former discovery in the same parish seems to justify the conjecture.

– *SM* 32 (March 1770), 166.

***60a.** BURN HALL, near Durham (NZ 3826), 10 February 1756.

We hear from Durham, that on the 10th of February a pot was found, with 142 pieces of Scots silver coin, about 300 years old, in the ground belonging to Mr Smith of Burnhall.

– *SM* 18 (Feb. 1756), p. 97.

***65a.** CAERGWRLE, Flintshire/now Clwyd (SJ 3057), 21 February 1757.

Caergwrley (*sic*), Feb. 24. On Monday last, as one John Masters was digging, in order to drive a large post in, to build a booth for the fair, his pick-ax struck against something which sounded like iron. Having cleared away the dirt, he found a trap-door. He immediately called two men who were at work near him; and having lifted up the door, two of them went down by a ladder, and took a lantern with them. When they came up, their account of it was, that there was a room near sixty feet in length, and about twenty in breadth; that they found nothing but a chest, which was so heavy, that they could not bring it up. Upon this several people went down, and breaking open the chest, it proved to be full of old gold and silver coins. They found a door too, which they opened, and in a closet found a few books, printed in Saxon characters, and some manuscripts in the same. Some men are employed by the lord of the manor to search this place narrowly, and it is expected we shall soon have some more discoveries made in it.

– *SM* 19 (May 1757), 258.

Note: No further accounts noted.

66. CALDALE, near Kirkwall, Orkney, summer? 1774. *Add contemporary references.*

From a gentleman in Orkney to his friend in Edinburgh, July 23. In digging lately for peats in a moss near my house at Caldale, there were found, about two feet below the surface of the ground, two cow's horns, containing a number of small silver coins, of which you have six enclosed. On the mouths of the horns, and lying near them, were several pieces of fine silver, in the form of crescents of different dimensions, nearly meeting at the ends; some of them flat made, others angled and cornered, and some round; one piece, like the staple of a door for receiving the bolt of the lock, and another much like those hooks usually fastened to partitions for hanging cloaths upon. In the bottom of one of the horns were several bits of the same metal, but coarser, which seem to have been cut with an instrument; and appear to have been parts of such crescents as have been mentioned. The horns were found in a sloping position, are much decayed, and about the size of Orkney cattle's horns. We can make nothing of the inscriptions round the coins, although, on the generality of them, the bust, sceptre, crosses, and characters, seem to be but very little defaced, and are wonderfully lively. The ground where they were found lies dry, and has been pastured upon by great numbers of cattle for many ages past. The peats taken out of it are uncommonly solid, heavy, and lasty in the fire. The peats above them, and on each side, were full as firm and solid as those at a distance. For these reasons, and because none here have ever before seen any such coin, or can make any thing of the language of the inscriptions, it is inferred that they may be very ancient, and engage the attention of the curious, and perhaps throw some light upon the history of these islands, and the condition of the inhabitants or sojourners in them in some remote period.

– *SM* 36 (Sept. 1774), 501.

Saturday 30 July. Some time ago, as some men were digging in a moss for turf, near Kirkwall, there were found two cows horns, containing a good quantity of silver of different shapes, and some silver coins, about the size of a four-penny piece. The coins are thought to be as old as 1170, and are quite plain; having on one side a man in complete armour, with a scepter in his hand, and on the other side a circle with a cross through the middle. Some of the pieces of silver resemble handles of coffins, and are of different sizes. The horns were about two feet below ground.

– *GM* 44 (July 1774), 332.

(O)ne of the many coins of Canute found in Orkney, as described in the Catalogue of that King's coins, (1)777; but, not coming to hand sooner, could not have a place therein. The legend is LEOFRIC ON CICC. And probably the place of coinage was Chichester.

– *GM* 54 (Feb. 1784), 84, pl. facing 81 (pl. 10, 3).

***68a.** CAMBRIDGE (City), Dolphin Inn, Sept. 1817.

Sept. 23. As some workmen were digging for the foundation of a building, in the cellar of the old Dolphin Inn, Cambridge, about four feet from the surface they found the mouldered remains of a leather bag, out of which fell a parcel of gold rings, containing precious stones, in a very ancient setting; also some old silver coins, and other articles of value, the whole of which will perhaps not be known. The workmen beginning to quarrel about the booty, news of the discovery reached the owner of the estate, who has recovered a part of the property. It consists of the following curious reliques, which have remained buried 550 years, about seventeen years before the foundation of the university . . .

9. A collection of silver pennies of Henry the Third, struck in his fifty-first year; about which time they seem to have been buried.

– *GM* 87 (Nov. 1817), 463.

69. CAMPSEY ASH, near Eye, Suffolk, Feb. 1832. *Add reference with additional details.*

In the beginning of the present year a large discovery of Saxon coins was made near Eye in Suffolk, by some labourers on the estate of Mrs. Sheppard of Campsey Ash. They were felling an old pollard oak, where they discovered two parcels of coins, inclosed in thin lead cases; one of them quite embedded in the solid part of the root. Many of them are divided into halves and quarters, which evidently shows that at that remote period these divided parts were circulated as halfpence and farthings. A Correspondent has seen about 200 coins, and is informed that about 600 are in the possession of Mr. Page of Woodbridge; perhaps 100 more may have been variously distributed. It would be very desirable to ascertain the exact number of pieces discovered, also a correct list of the types, towns, and moneyers, many of which were probably new.

– *GM* 102 (April 1832), 355.

Note: Thompson's figure of about 600 coins should be increased to 900 and the disposition altered to reflect some 600 acquired by Page and 100 dispersed generally. The hope, expressed above, for a full inventory apparently was in vain.

97. CONGRESBURY, Somerset/now Avon, spring 1828. *Add reference and details.*

In pulling down part of an old farm-house, the property of Mr. Beaks, at Brinzey, in the parish of Congresbury, Somerset, the labourers lately found a small screw box, containing 115 silver and 23 gold coins. The silver ones are groats of Henry V, two of them struck at Calais, and the others at London. One of the gold coins is the noble of Henry VI. . . . The other is the recoinage of the noble, by Edward IV. called the rial. . . . The coins are in a state of high preservation.

– *GM* 98 (May 1828), 462.

Note: According to this original report, the hoard name might better be BRINZEY but, if not renamed, at least should be corrected to CONGRESBURY PARISH. Thompson reported that the number of London groats was unspecified but they are clearly stated here to have been 113, with two of Calais and 23 gold pieces.

105. CRIEFF, Old Church, Perth/now Tayside, 26 July 1787. *Add reference and details.*

Perth. The workmen in lately digging the foundation of the old church of Crieff, discovered a number of gold coins, equal in weight to a modern quarter guinea, but more free from alloy. The device on one side is a St Andrew stretched out on a cross; the legend, ROBERTUS DEI GRATIA REX SCOTIÆ. On the reverse a Lion Rampant within a Gothic Arch, the motto LIBERAT, by which it seems the coins are those of Robert I. who might with propriety be styled LIBERATOR PATRIÆ, as having delivered his country from English oppression. These coins bore no dates, and I believe our ancient Scottish bore none.

– *SM* 49 (July 1787), 360.

Note: An edited version of this account appeared in *GM* 57 (Aug. 1787), 732.

112. CUERDALE, near Preston, Lancs, May 1840. *Add reference.*

In May last a large collection of valuable and interesting Anglo-Saxon coins, and other reliques of olden time, were discovered close to the river Ribble, at Cuerdale Hall, near Preston. . . . (After) a general scramble . . . it was forthwith collected together, and deposited in the bank of Messrs. Pedder, Fleetwood, and Co. on the following day. . . .

On the 25th of August an inquest was held at the Bull inn, in Preston. . . . The treasure, on a hasty examination, was found to be nearly as follows: – About 6800 coins, weighing about 304 ounces troy; 16 ingots of silver . . . (etc., etc.): Total, 1265 ounces. . . .

The coins are in the most perfect state of preservation, and consist principally of those of St. Edmund, Alfred, and Edward the Elder; very few of Athelstan . . . (but) a considerable quantity of French coins . . . and a large proportion bearing on the obverse CVN · HET · TI, which is not at present well understood.

– *GM* N.S. 14 (1840 ii, Sept.), 295.

***116a. DEAN**, near Keswick, Cumbria (NY 0725), mid-1790?

In passing through Keswick . . . I met with some coins, in the possession of Mr. Crosthwaite, who exhibits an interesting little museum there. He informed me, that they had been deposited in a leaden vessel, and were discovered in the village of Dean, about twelve miles West of Keswick, by a cow's treading upon the spot where it lay concealed. Mr. Crosthwaite procured eleven, bearing the mark of a cross, and twenty of different sizes and various impressions, but similar in coinage to that in Plate III. No. 9 . . .

– *GM* 60 (Aug. 1790), 708, pl. 3, figs. 1–9 (reproduced in *Ency. ii, I*, 67).

Thomas Ford Hill identifies a coin found in Cumberland in a 'Keswic (*sic*) collection', as apparently of the Abbasid Caliphs . . . (possibly) struck at Bagdat (*sic*) in the eighth century [*see* pl. 3, fig. 9 above].

– *GM* 61 (Jan. 1791), 6–7.

123. DORKING, Surrey, June? 1817. *Add reference.*

About 1500 Saxon Coins have been ploughed up in a field on Winterfield's farm, in the parish of *Dorking*, most of them in a state of high preservation: they are of various monarchs and archbishops, most of them at the time of the Heptarchy.

– *GM* 87 (Supp. i 1817), 620.

***142a DUNFERMLINE, No. 2, Fife (NT 0987), June/July? 1766.**

Several curiosities have lately been discovered at Dunfermline. – Some months ago, an iron chest was dug up containing a number of very ancient Danish silver coins, esteemed a great curiosity.

– *SM* 28 (July 1766), 388.

***151a. EATON COPPICE, near Leominster, Heref/nor Hereford & Worcester, late October 1757.**

About the end of October, as some labourers were digging up the roots of a parcel of large trees which had been felled in Eaton coppice, near Leominster, Herefordshire, one of the men discovered a small earthen pot, covered on the top with a plate of lead, in which were about 160 pieces of gold and silver coin, some of them King John's.

– *SM* 19 (Nov. 1757), p. 606.

Note: Eaton Hill (SO 5059) is located east of Leominster, across the River Lugg.

***153a. EDINBURGH, No. 2, South Bridge, late June 1787.**

Saturday, June 23. (T)he workmen employed in digging the foundation of one of the houses on the east side of the South Bridge, Edinburgh, found deposited in a cavity, which appeared to have been made for the purpose, a vast quantity of silver coin, all of a size less than our present sixpences. They are evidently the coin of Edward I. commonly called Longshanks, who was in this country in the years 1295–6, when he defeated the Scots at Dunbar. . . . On the one side of this coin is the following inscription: EDWAR. ANGL. DNS. HYB. On the reverse, CIVITAS LONDON. The letters, &c. are quite entire, and a number of the pieces have been sold by the workmen for fourpence a-piece.

– *SM* 49 (July 1787), 358.

Note: This account, slightly edited, also appeared in *GM* 57 (July, Aug. 1787), 632, 659.

***157a. FARINGDON (near), Berks/nor Oxon (SU 2895), spring 1816.**

A short time since, an earthen vessel was dug up near Faringdon, Berks, containing 100 silver two-pences of Edward III., having on the obverse side, in Saxon characters, 'EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB.' Most of them had, on the reverse, 'Civitas London,' some 'Civitas Canton,' and a few 'Civitas Eboracia,' and 'Civitas Bristollia.' The whole are well preserved. Ninety-four of them are in the hands of Mr. Taylor, Corn-market, Oxford. (*Oxford Herald*.)

– *GM* 86 (April 1816), 367.

159. FENWICK, near Stamfordham, Nthmb, summer (June?) 1775. *Add reference.*

Saturday, 30 September. Some weeks ago, a mason, and his labourer, having been employed in pulling down Fenwick-tower, near Stamfordham, in Northumberland, found, between the floor and the arch, a considerable number of gold pieces, of the coin of Edw. II. and III. but quarrelling over their cups, about dividing the booty, it came to the ears of Sir Walter Blacket, who, as lawful owner, demanded the same, and received from one 80, and from the other 35. They are about the size of a thirty-six shilling piece, and as fresh as if just come out of the mint.

– *GM* 45 (Sept. 1775), 453.

162. FLAXTON, Bossall parish, Yorks, 14 September 1807. *Add reference, with corrected date.*

I have sent for the use of your Engraver . . . two other pieces of the York mint, but engraved by an ignorant workman. . . .

On the 14th of Sept. 1807, a leaden box, containing about 270 Silver Coins, and some pieces of Silver, the latter weighing about two pounds, was turned up by the plough, in the parish of Bossall, in the county of York, at a farm occupied by Benjamin Wright, and belonging to Henry Cholmley, esq. near the Lobster-house, and eight-mile stone on the road from York to Malton. Most of the Coins appear to have been struck at the Mint of St. Peter at York. From several Coins of Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Athelstan, having been found with the St. Peter's penny, it is conjectured they were struck in the reigns of those Monarchs; deposited in the treasury of the Cathedral of York, in King Athelstan's time, and taken from thence previous to the battle between Harold and the King of Norway in 1066. They have the name of the Master of the Mint, or of the City of York, on the reverse; and are in perfect preservation, seeming almost fresh from the Mint, and at all events cannot have been in much circulation, if any. From the contiguity of the spot w(h)ere they were found to Stamford-bridge (about three miles), and from the above and following circumstances, as connected with History, it is almost manifest that this treasure was hidden

soon after the memorable battle fought at Stamford-bridge on the 23d of September, 1066 . . . [additional details on hack silver]. ('Amicus')

– *GM* 77 (Dec. 1807), 1105–7, pl. 2, figs. 4–5 (pl. 11, 4).

176. GRAVESEND, Kent, autumn 1838. *Add reference.*

About three months since, some labourers digging gravel in the vicinity of Gravesend, discovered a large hoard of Saxon pennies, amounting to upwards of 600. They are of Edmund, Ethelbert, Burgred, Harold, &c. The British Museum has purchased a number of these coins, but the bulk has been bought by a private individual [H.P. Borrell], who was so fortunate as to secure them for a mere trifle. With the coins was found deposited a massive cross of silver.

– *GM* 3, 11 (1839 i, June), 640.

***179a HALLYCLARE, between Connor and Carrickfergus Castle, Co. Antrim, June? 1827.**

In lately digging a field near Hallyclare (says the *Northern Whig*) there was found an earthen vessel, containing upwards of 1000 silver pennies of King Edward I. and II., the greater part of which had been coined in London, York, and Canterbury. Among them were a number stamped in the following places: – Newcastle, Durham, Lincoln, Bristol, St. Edmundsbury, Hadley, Exeter, Chester, and Oxford. There were also a few Irish pennies, with the triangle, coined in Dublin and Waterford. From the time that we may fairly infer these coins were in circulation, and the tract of the country in which they were found – lying between the ancient city of Connor and the venerable fortress of Carrickfergus – it is highly probable that they had been hidden during the invasion of Lord Edward Bruce in 1315, and perhaps buried during the retreat of the English army from the former place, where they had been defeated on the 10th of September. . . . The hypothesis is the more likely, as at different times, within memory, small parcels of the like coins have been also found in caves in the same direction [toward Carrickfergus], with some silver coins of the Alexanders kings of Scotland.

– *GM* 97 (July 1827), 69–70.

***185a. HATTON MILL, Kinnell parish, Forfar/now Tayside (NO 6150), early 1806.**

There were lately found near Hatton-Mill, in the parish of Kinnell, and County of Angus, about 700 Ancient Coins contained in a earthen jar. I have seen about 60, and picked out 5 different Coins. They are all about the size of a sixpence.

ALEXANDER . DEI . GRA . REX . SCOTORUM .

EDW . R' . ANGL . DNS . HYB . LONDON CIVITAS .; similar but EDWARD at full; similar but EBORACUM . CIVITAS .; similar but WATERFORD . CIVITAS .

– *SM* 68 (Feb. 1806), 84–5.

***185b. HENSTRIDGE, near Sherborne, Somerset (ST 7219), summer 1808.**

In the course of the last summer in digging the foundation of a house at Henstridge, near Sherborne, where some old ruinous cottages had formerly stood, the workmen accidentally struck upon a large flat stone, which appeared to have been the foundation of an antient building. Under the stone, neatly folded in a sheet of milled lead, were discovered fifteen or sixteen Nobles of the different coinages of Edward the Third. Most of the coins are in a very high state of preservation; three or four appear to have been injured by the pressure of the stone, but they are in general as fresh and perfect as when delivered from the the mint. Those which have come into my hands are of a much more delicate execution than the Noble engraved in Pinkerton; but are exactly of the same size, though somewhat different in the impression. I am told that the impression is not the same upon any two of the coins discovered. . . . [Further description follows.] (S.T.R.)

– *GM* 78 (Jan. 1808), 40.

188. HEXHAM, Nthmb, '1833' – actually 15 October 1832. *Add references.*

On the 15th of October the sexton was making a grave of more than usual size, in a part of Hexham churchyard called the Camp-hill, which is on the site of the nave, or part of the conventual church there, which was burnt down by the Scots in their devastating expedition into England in 1296, and never afterwards rebuilt. After digging eight feet downwards he came to a metallic box, or safe, of considerable dimensions, the hinges of which were of copper, and moved quite easily. When the lid was opened, there was exposed to the grave-digger's astonished view a collection of Saxon coins, which weighed at least fifty-six pounds. The box was found in a sort of ruined stone coffin. Many of the coins are said to be of gold and silver; but the greater part are of copper, or a composition of lead, or tin, and copper. Those of gold, I apprehend, are of the kind called Gallies; but I have seen none either of these or of those of silver; but out of twenty-three of a whitish sort of mixture, containing a considerable proportion of copper, which have been shown to me, seven are stycas, of the reign of Eanfrid, fourteen of Ethelred, one of Redulf, and one of 'Figmund' Archbishop of York. So far as I have examined, all of them, excepting that of Redulf, are from different dies than any of those drawn by Ruding. Eanred began to reign in 810, Ethelred in 836, Redulf 840, and 'Figmund,' who, on the coin, is called 'Vigmund,[]' and by Le Neve, Wimund, was Archbishop of York in 831.

– *GM* 102 (Nov. 1832), 465.

Note: This report by V.W. (identified as John Hodgson of Red Lion-square in the *Nichols File*) offers little information on the coins themselves although it gives a specific date and additional details of the circumstances of the find.

[After repeating the basic report immediately above:] Mr. [John] Adamson, secretary to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, has examined both the coins and vessel, and thinks that the former must have been poured into the latter after it was fixed in the earth; for, from its extreme thinness, it could not have been lifted with the coins in it without bursting, or being much bilged. . . .

All the coins are Saxon, Northumberland, stycas of brass, of which the vessel when found could not have contained less than ten thousand. Quantities of them were soon afloat in the country, and many strange reports, some of which appeared in the newspapers, came out with them. One account said that a great quantity of them were gold, and a still greater quantity of silver; that some of them had dates of the sixth century. . . .

The greatest part of the coins . . . fell into the hands of the Rev. Wm. Airey, who, as incumbent of Hexham, has the only legal claim to them, and who, after they are properly examined and arranged, is intending to present a complete set of them, and the vessel in which they were found, to the Antiquarian Society of Newcastle. Mr. Adamson has also drawn up an account of this interesting discovery, to be read before the Society of Antiquaries in London.

I had three on the 17th, and twenty of them on the 18th of this month [October], put into my hands. They were to appearance in a highly oxidated state; but after being put into about two table-spoonfuls of sulphurous acid for a little less than a minute, all of them, except one, came out quite clean, and of the usual dull, brownish green, which brass that has been for some time in use usually assumes. One of them had a hard reddish blotch of rust nearly all over one side, which yielded very slowly to many repeated applications of acid. The metal of which they are made is certainly an alloy of copper; and, from its readily yielding to the knife, I think the alloy in them is zinc. . . .

Of the 23 coins which I have seen, eight are of Eanred and only three alike, 14 of Ethelred all different, one of Redulf, and one of 'Figmund'; and I am told, on good authority, that of the large collection now in the possession of Mr. Airey, the greatest number are of Eanred, Ethelred, and Vigmund. . . .

One of the most obvious inferences to be drawn from an inspection of the whole, is the great imperfection of the art of coining at the time they were made. They are from an incredible number of dies, and very few of them have the impression on each side made fairly on the centre of the blank.

– *GM* 102 (Dec. 1832), 518–20.

Account of old Coins purchased for the British Museum, between Christmas 1832 and Christmas 1833, includes:

– 3. Two hundred and ninety-six coins, chiefly of Redulf, Eanred, and Athelred, Kings of Northumbria, and of Vigmund and Eanbald, Archbishops of York, and the ancient vessel in which the coins were found, 20 *l.*, as a remuneration to the sexton and others who discovered the coins.

– *GM* 104/3, 1 (April 1834), 423–4.

***193a. HORSEHEATH** (near), Cambs (TL 6147), September? 1832 (possibly Roman).

Sept. 29. As a cart was going by the side of the road between Horseheath and Wethersfield, on the borders of Essex, the wheel struck against a Roman urn, which was found to contain nearly 600 silver coins, between the size of a sixpence and a shilling, of a very ancient date; many of them, it is said, of the time of William Rufus.

– *GM* 102 (Oct. 1832), 359.

Note: This report states that the find was between Horseheath and Wethersfield, evidently in error. Withersfield is located some 2½ miles east of Horseheath with open country between and joined by a road, whereas Wethersfield is almost 12 miles southeast of Horseheath with several villages between.

***197a. INVERNESS**, near Greyfriars' burial-ground, Highland (NH 6645), autumn 1824.

A person digging in the glebe of the Senior Minister of Inverness, near the Greyfriars' burial-ground, lately found at the depth of a foot from the surface of the ground a great number of ancient silver coins in an earthen jar, about the size of a quart, which, to evade the claims of the Lord of the Manor and the Exchequer, were quickly and privately disposed of at 3*d.* each. They principally consist of English silver pennies of Henry III. and Edward I. and III. coined at London, Lincoln, Canterbury, York, Cambridge, Bristol, Dublin, &c.; there are some of the contemporary Scotch Kings, Alexander III. Robert I. and David II. The coins are in good preservation, and the date of the latest being 1330, they were probably secreted by the Monks of the Franciscan Monastery, which stood there at the period of the invasion of Edward III. who penetrated to Inverness in the year 1336.

– *GM* 94 (Nov. 1824), 453.

***203a. JERSEY**, Channel Is., 13 April 1785.

A . . . valuable discovery was made on the 13th April instant, by some workmen, in clearing a well in the garden of Farmer Le Boutelier, in Jersey, where, on the stonework at the side giving way, they found four pots strongly

cemented, full of antient coins, gold and silver medals, and, what was thought extraordinary, a number of brass rings, with the names EDWARDS round them, were found at the same time.

– *GM* 55 (April 1785), 320.

***207a. KILKENNY** (near), No. 2, 1791.

A very considerable quantity (of coins) was found (last year near Kilkenny), and a lump of silver procured from melting (a) great part, before I rescued any of them. Fig. 3, 4, are evidently Canute's; of these there was a great number, with some variety in the form of the sceptre, and inscription, A, AN, or ANG, following REX, upon some. Fig. 3 reads NA, but must be a mistake of the minter. They differ materially from those that appear upon any coins that I have seen of the Danish princes of this kingdom, and may perhaps have been struck by the Irish themselves; whatever may be the case, they are as well executed as any of the Saxon that I have met with. The characters in general are sharp; but the metal was so brittle, that it was difficult to free them from the coat of earth and rust that adhered.

– *GM* 62 (Feb. 1792), 122, pl. 3 facing 121, figs. 3–4 (pl. 11, 5).

On the coin of Canute, pl. III. fig. 3, I cannot find NA, mentioned p. 122. The legend is RECX CNUT. þVLNCD ON þINC for Winchester.

Fig. 4 is not a coin of Canute, but to be read IDIFNI INTRGRE NIRIN NMODFN. (D.H. = Richard Gough.)

– *GM* 62 (March 1792), 221.

– *Note*: A similar comment in *GM* 62 (March 1792), 195–6, gives less detailed identifications.

***225a. KNARESBOROUGH**, N Yorks (SE 3557), May/June 1805.

June 6. As a labourer was taking down part of an old wall within the precincts of the Priory of Knaresborough, he discovered a large quantity of silver coin, amounting to near 1600 pieces, mostly of the coinage of Edward I. The man carried the pieces to Sir Thomas Slingsby, lord of the manor, who generously gave him the intrinsic value of the silver.

– *GM* 75 (June 1805), 574.

***259a. LONDON**, No. 21, Finchley Common, May 1755.

Wednesday, 19 [*recte* 14?] May. As one Clarridge, a labouring man, was digging on Finchley common, he found six pieces of old gold coin; and telling it to some other people, they went to the place and found to the value of above 20 *l*.

One that we have seen is a fair gold coin of Edward II. or III. weight about 19s. 6*d*. On one side, the king stands in a ship, with a drawn sword in his right hand, and a shield on his left, charged with the arms of France and England quarterly. . . . On the reverse crowns round a cross. . . .

– *GM* 25 (May 1755), 234.

***263a. LUMPHANAN**, Kincardine/now Grampian (NJ 5703), early 1750.

Letters from Aberdeen bear, that some time ago, as some workmen were digging for a new entry to the churchyard of Lumphanan, they found an earthen pot full of old pieces of silver coin; that many of them were so consumed with rust, that they easily mouldered away; that those on which any of the characters are legible, are coins of the Kings Robert and David of Scotland, whose heads they bear, and appear to have been struck at Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen; and that Mr Downie, Minister of the parish, sells those struck at Edinburgh and Perth, at 5*s*. and those struck at Aberdeen, at 10*s*. for the benefit of the poor, whatever is found within the churchyard being their property.

– *SM* 12 (May 1750), 253.

***265a. MEATH** (County), Ireland, spring? 1787.

The coin enclosed (plate II. fig. 10.) was, with many others of the same kind, lately found in opening a grave in the county of Meath in Ireland.

– *GM* 57 (April 1787), 314, pl. 2, fig. 10 (pl. 11, 6).

270. MILTON STREET, Sussex, autumn 1843. *Add reference*.

A short time since one of the workmen of Mr. Charles Ade, of Milton Street, near Alfriston, Sussex brought him a small piece of silver, which the former dug up in his garden. It proved to be a penny of Edward the Confessor. It occurred to Mr. Ade that he had two similar coins brought to him some years ago, which were also found very nearly on the same spot. The coincidence induced him to have the site carefully searched, the result of which has been the discovery of a considerable number of Saxon silver pennies, scattered about singly in the soil of the garden. They are of a date just prior to the Norman Conquest, and include specimens of the reigns of Cnut (or Canute), Harold I. Harthacnut, and Edward the Confessor; most of them are in the finest preservation.

– *GM* N.S. 20 (1843 ii, Dec.), 640.

273. MORAYSHIRE, Dyke parish, c. 1782? – discovery date placed to 1785 in *Inventory*. *Add references*.

The Coins, of which the inclosed is an exact copy, were found some time ago in the burial place of the Lairds of Brodie, in the parish of Dyke in Moray. – It has been affirmed that from the reverse they cannot be of Scottish coinage; the crescent, as far as I have ever seen, was not used on any other of the coins of this kingdom. . . . The legend on many of these coins is very perfect, LE REI WILAM (and varieties). . . . The reverse is a cross. . . . RAV ON RO, Raul de Rocebur. . . . Derisadam on Ro – but they mostly have Raul de Rocebur – thought to be Roxburgh. (G.P.)

– GM 53 (Sept. 1783), 728, folding pl., figs. 1, 2 (pl. 11, 7).

Edinburgh. Reference to 1783 note, 728, adding four additional varieties, including coins of Perth, but correspondent is puzzled by reverse crescents instead of 'pointed pierced Stars (or, as we call them, Spurr Revels)'.

– GM 54 (April 1784), 258, folding pl. (pl. 11, 8, 9).

*277a. NABURN, near York, N Yorks (SE 5945), April 1753 (mini-hoard).

Thursday, 19 April. Some workmen making a cut in Naburn Ings near York in order to fix a new lock in the River Ouse, at 10 feet deep found the skeleton of a man, entire laid in a bed of stiff clay and near it two small silver Saxon coins of a sort call'd *Sticaes*, on one of which is Ethilred; the inscription on the other is not yet understood. These were some of the coins of our ancient Northumbrian kings, Ethilred reign'd in 779.

– GM 23 (April 1753), 199.

294. NOTTINGHAM, No. 2, Barker Gate. *Add reference*.

Fig. 6 is a coin of silver, supposed to be Edward the Confessor's; about 20 of which, with similar impressions, were found in digging the foundation of a wall in Barker-gate, Nottingham. (R. Dearman.)

– GM 56 (Nov. 1786), 925, folding pl. 2, fig. 6. (pl. 11, 10).

*298a OULTON, near Stone, Staffs (SJ 9135), 1795.

In 1795 was . . . found at Oulton, near Stone, a parcel of near 4000 silver coins, all Saxon, except some of William the Conqueror; 40 of which, of the different sorts, in the highest preservation, are in my possession. (Stebbing Shaw jun. of Hartshorn.)

– GM 66 (Dec. 1796), 983–4.

*301a. OXFORD, No. 3, Oxon, 1751.

Rogers Ruding submits a plate of coins, including: 'Two silver coins found in digging the foundation for the New Town-Hall at Oxf^d. 1751', 'copied from an unpublished plate engraved at the expence of Mr. Rowe-Mores. In Mr. Gough's *British Topography*, vol. 2. p. 96, they are said to be coins of John and Henry; and, in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, N^o 1. p. xxi, to be now in the possession of Mr. Burrell.'

– GM 66 (Aug. 1796), 639–40, pl. 2, top half (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1, 82*).

303 PAISLEY, No. 2, Renfrewshire, April 1791. *Add reference*.

There were lately found, in the neighbourhood of Paisley, about 515 silver pennies of the three first Edwards, weighing about twenty-two ounces; they have all the full face with the epigraphe, Edw. – Edw. (*sic*) or Edward, R. Ang. Dux Hyb. and on the reverse the place where coined. Some ounces, which a gentleman in Glasgow has rescued from the furnace, and are in a high preservation, have Civitas London; Civitas Cantor. Civitas Dureme. and Dunelmie. Civitas Lincol. Civitas Eboraci. Vill. Novi. Castri. Vill. Sciedmundi. Villa Bristolie. Villa Bereici. One has Civitas Watterfor. another, which we take to be a rare coin of Edward II. has on the obverse Dux. Limburgie, and on the reverse Dux Brabantie. There was also among the collection five pennies of Alexander (III.) Dei Gra – Rex Scotorum, and three of John Baliol – Civitas Andrea.

– SM 53 (April 1791), 201.

*308a. PENNINGHAME FOREST, Wigtown/now Dumfries & Galloway (NX 3568), autumn? 1835.

Whilst a party of reapers were lately cutting down a field of grain in the parish of Penningham, Wigtounshire, they unexpectedly discovered between twelve and fifteen hundred pieces of silver coin – the majority of them being about the size of a sixpence, some larger. Most of these (says a correspondent of the *Dumfries Courier*) proved to be English Coins of Edward, but which of the Edwards cannot be discovered, because there is no date on many of them, and the head on the obverse is very similar on all. There were also a few Scottish coins of Alexander and Robert. On the obverse of the coins of Edward is a crowned head, surrounded with the legend 'Edw. R. Angl. D'n's. Hib.' On the reverse, a cross between twelve pellets surrounded with the legend of the place where the coin was struck – thus, 'civitas London.' or 'villa Bristollie.'

The writer has specimens of these coins, struck at the following places, and bearing the respective names: – viz. London, Canterbury, York, Durham, Chester, Lincoln, Dublin, all of which are called 'civitas;' and also Berwick, Newcastle, Bristol, St. Edmundsbury, which places bear the humbler title of 'villa'. The obverse side of the Dublin coin is different from that of others, having the crowned head enclosed in a triangle, on the exterior sides of which is the same legend as on the others – viz., Edw. R (1st side); Angl. Dns, (2d side); Hib. (3d side).

The writer has also specimens of the following, which were among the treasure – viz. one bearing on the obverse a crowned head, surrounded by a legend, which appears to be 'Dux Limbergii I.' and on the reverse a cross between twelve pellets, surrounded by the legend, very distinct, 'Dux Brabantie;' on one of which the obverse and the reverse are the same with the Edwards. The poor people who found the coins estimated them so lightly, that one man who happened to be near bought 20 scores of them for 20s. They afterwards sold at prices varying from 3s. 9d. to 4s. 4s. 6d. 5s. and 6s. per ounce, and by retail at 4d. and 4½d. each.

– *GM* 3, 4 (1835 ii, Nov.), 540.

Note: The writer is unidentified in the *Nichols File*.

***309a. PERTH, No. 2, Kinclaven Castle, Tayside, 1803.**

I Send you an exact representation of two Silver Coins, found in the ruins of Kinclaven Castle by Robt. Brodie, at the boat of Kinclaven, in whose possession they now are. . . .

The coin of Alexander I. has no date, but he was crowned A.D. 1107. This coin is quite distinct.

The coin of William Rufus is distinct, except the initials of Domini Nostri. . . .

[The illustration of the second coin should read EDW R' ANGL DNS HYB +, which the good reverend reads as G.D.W.R.U. (i.e. Gratia Dei William Rufus) ANG.R.D.N.S.MVB [interpreted as MXCIV], explaining such a remarkably early date: 'I understand the VB, on the English coin to signify 6 and that the curves completing the B are flourishes, to signify that the 6 are to be subtracted from another hundred.' (The Rev. James Playfair, of Bendorthy, with editorial note.)

– *SM* 66 (Jan. 1804), 4–5, facing pl., figs. 1–2 (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1*, 160).

Note: Reactions to this extraordinary interpretation may be found at *SM* 66 (Feb. 1804), 108, 160; 67 (Sept. 1805), 651; 68 (Jan. 1806), 85.

***309b. PERTH, No. 3, Parliament House, Tayside, mid-June 1812.**

June 21. A quantity of silver coins were found last week by some workmen while digging on the site of the old Parliament-house at Perth. They were 18 inches below the surface of the street, in a state of oxydation, and many of them adhering together in a lump. The whole weighed 5lb. 14oz. They seem to be chiefly English and Scotch pennies of the 13th century.

– *GM* 82 (June 1812), 584.

***313a. RAMSHAW MOOR, Nthmb (NY 7060), late December 1762.**

Thursday, 30 December. In the end of December a large quantity of silver money, shillings and smaller coin of Edwards I. and II. was accidentally discovered in a cavity among the rocks in Ramshaw moor in Northumberland.

– *SM* 25 (Jan. 1763), 57.

Note: A short version of this brief report appeared in *GM* 33 (Jan. 1763), 42; also see Metcalf, *NC* 6, 18 (1958), 85.

***320a. ST ANDREWS, Castle Wynd, Fifeshire (NO 5016), early February 1792.**

St Andrew's, March 12. There was discovered, the beginning of February last, in a garden on the east side of the Castle Wynd, St Andrew's, about three feet below the surface, an earthen pot, containing a number of English, Scotch, and French, coins.

Eight of them are gold pieces, in excellent preservation, most of them about the size of half a crown, but thin and light. There are above 200 of silver, mostly about the size of a shilling, many of them covered with rust, and much defaced.

The silver ones have on one side a St George's cross, in the angles of which is written, on an inner circle, upon some, Villa Calisie; upon others, Civitas London; on others Civitas Eboraci; and on others, Villa Edinburgi. In the outer circle of the three first kinds are the words, Posui Deum Adjutorem meum; on the outer circle of the Scots kind, Dominus Protector meus et Liberator meus; on the reverse of the first kinds is a human head with a crown, round which is generally the inscription Henric. Dei Grat. Rex Anglorum et Francorum.

The reverse of the Scotch coins exhibits also a crowned head, circumscribed with the words, in some, Robertus, in others, Jacobus Dei Grat. Rex Scotorum.

– *SM* 54 (March 1792), 151.

Note: It seems surprising that a coin hoard of eight gold, 200+ silver English and Scottish, together with some French, discovered as late as 1792, apparently was not noticed in nineteenth century numismatic literature.

***320b. ST KILDA**, Outer Hebrides/now Western Isles (NF 0999), April/early May? 1767.

Edinburgh, May 11. We hear from Glasgow, that some fishermen lately dug up on the island of St Kilda, two antique urns, containing a quantity of Danish silver coin, which by the inscription appears to have lain there upwards of 1800 years [*recte* 800?].

– *SM* 29 (June 1767), 326.

***323a. SCONE PALACE** (near), Perthshire/now Tayside (NO 1126), October/November, 1785.

In digging near where the ancient palace of Scone stands, the workmen lately discovered upwards of twenty stone coffins, near eight feet below the surface, in which were deposited entire skeletons. . . . Near the above spot, and not far from the foundation of the old monastery, were also found, in digging, upwards of twenty silver, copper, and brass Scots coins.

– *SM* 47 (Nov. 1785), 567.

Note: Also reported in *GM* 55 (Supp. 1785), 1035: 'at present in the possession of Mr Teal, at Scoon (*sic*), for the inspection of the curious.'

***330a. SKETTY**, near Swansea, W Glamorgan (SS 6292), fall 1803.

Lately, at Sketty, near Swansea, the seat of R.M. Phillips, esq. as some labourers were employed in digging a pond, within a hundred yards of Sketty-house, they discovered three earthen pots, containing a great number of gold and silver coins of Edward III. Many of them were in a high state of preservation; not a single coin was found amongst them either prior or subsequent to that reign.

– *GM* 73 (Nov. 1803), 1075.

338. STAFFORD, Dec. 1800. *Add reference.*

A short time ago, between 2 and 300 pieces of antient silver coin were discovered in a tan-yard in Stafford, about a yard from the surface of the ground. They were contained in a small jug, and are in an excellent state of preservation. It is supposed they have lain there about 700 years, as they appear to have been coined during the reigns of Etheldred (*sic*), Canute, and Hardicanute; which last monarch died at Lambeth, in 1044.

– *GM* 70 (Supp. 1800), 1276.

***342a. STERLINGSHIRE** (County), early 1758?

A report on Antiquities discovered in Stirlingshire includes 'three triangular pieces of copper money, about the size of a halfpenny [checks of some sort?] . . . (T)hese (did not) escape the destructive curiosity of the country-people, who broke them to pieces, to see what metal they were of.'

– *SM* 20 (Feb. 1758), 77.

358. TIREE, Isle of, No. 2, Hebrides, November 1788 – 'Disposition: Unknown'. *Add references.*

There was lately found in an earthen pot, in a field in the Island of Tyrie, one of the Hebrides, a few ounces of the silver pennies of Henry III. of England. . . . The coins here taken notice of, seventy of which are in a gentleman's possession in Glasgow, are in general in fine preservation; all of them have on the obverse his full face and head crowned, in his right hand a sceptre pointed with pearls crosswise, in the legend Henricus Rex. The reverse bears a cross moline voided, which only extends to the edge of the inner circle (and denotes his first coinage, or before his thirty-second year) between a cross of four pellets in each quarter, with the moneyer's name, and place where coined: such as Adam on Norh. Fulre on Oxen. Miles on Winc. Pieres on Lic. Nicole on Eve. R-on Nicol (Lincoln[]), and Roger of Ronce, for Norwich, Oxford, Winchester, Leicester, and Evesham; what the two last import we do not affirm. Twenty-six of them have either Abel, Iger, Rauf, Raulf, Ricard, T. Walter or Willelm. with the abbreviations of on Lu. Lun. Lund. or Lunde. for London. Eighteen have the epigraphs of Joan, Henri, Henry, Samuel, Simon or Simun, with the contraction of on Can. Cant. Cante. for Canterbury. Others are so imperfectly struck, and some so obliterated by the corroding hand of time, as to put it out of our power to speak of them with any certainty; although the names of Arnaud and Thomas, with other partial inscriptions, are legible upon many of them.

– *SM* 50 (Dec. 1788), 617.

Note: A shorter version of this account was printed in *GM* 58, Dec. 1788, 1112–3. Footnotes in the *Inventory* correct some of the attributions: e.g. probably CIC instead of LIC and FOLCE for Fulpe – although the *SM* text has *Fulre*. Also see ***371a** below.

363. TUTBURY, Staffs, June 1831. *Add reference.*

June 9. For several days past a curious scene has presented itself at Tutbury. A new cut or water-course has lately been made, which has affected the height of the water in the regular course of the river (the Dove). On this account it has been deemed necessary to lower the bed of the river immediately below the bridge. In doing this, the labourers discovered, amongst the stones and gravel, a quantity of small pieces of coin, which proved to be silver, and of the reign of Edward the First. On more minute investigation, it appeared as though from one of the

buttresses of the bridge, in a direct line for 40 or 50 yards, the whole bed of the river was one entire mass of coin. On Wednesday there were hundreds of labourers and others, up to their middle in water, with shovels and riddles, at work the whole day exhuming this long concealed treasure. It is not the slightest exaggeration to state that upwards of 200 pieces of silver coin have been brought up at one time in the shovel. On the most moderate possible calculation, more than 20,000 pieces were found on Wednesday. Single parties found upwards of 1,500. The coins, which are evidently of the reign of Edward the First, appear to have been originally of the value of 4d. There are at least five distinct coinages of the same reign. . . .

It would appear as though a trench had originally been made and filled with these pieces. When a large quantity has been dug up at a time, it was discovered that they lay in a marly substance, and not in the gravel which forms the outer bed of the river. The pieces were sold at the onset at from 10s. to 12s. per hundred, afterwards at 7s. 6d. per hundred. The silversmiths in Burton have given 4s. per ounce.

– *GM* 101 (June 1831), 546.

***371a.** Unknown site, No. 8 (in Ireland?), before 1792. *Perhaps identical to 358 above.*

Some time ago a number of pieces of both coinages of Henry III or at least what Snelling places to the account of that monarch, fell into my hands; and it is remarkable, as it shews what a great intercourse prevailed formerly between England and Ireland, that the coins marked on the reverse Joan Churn Ca and Roger of Ronce, were amongst them, with three others not taken notice of in Snelling's work; the first Norman on San, or Sant, as it is expressed on another penny, and Terri on . . . (perhaps) Lunde, give two coiners and one place not noticed by him. I have also Raul on Lunda and Wille I. on Cant, which I do not find in Snelling. . . . I should think a good hint might be taken from a circumstance that occurs in many of these old coins, with respect to our current money: the border or rim rises so much, that it affords great protection to the impression on the field, which in our silver very soon is effaced; the field might also be concave, which would be a further security. (Correspondent from Ireland.)

– *GM* 62 (Feb. 1792), 122.

382. WYKE, Yorks, February 1836. *Add reference.*

Society of Antiquaries. May 31 (1838). Francis Sharp, esq. of Leeds, communicated an account of the discovery of a very extensive hoard of coins made in February 1836 at Wyke, in the parish of Harewood, Yorkshire. This hoard so closely resembled that found at Tutbury in 1831, and described by Mr [Edward] Hawkins in the 24th volume of the *Archæologia*, that a description of the coins was in great measure anticipated. . . . From the period of the coins, and particularly some foreign sterlings, the date of the deposit is ascertained to have been early in the reign of Edward the Third.

– *GM* 3, 10 (1838 ii, Jan.), 86.

Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500–1967

EL7. KIRTLING, Cambs, 1842. *Add reference.*

From the *An Abridged Catalogue of the Saffron Walden Museum* (Royal 8vo., np, nd):

In Numismatics there are a few Greek, a good series of Roman, many of which were found at Saffron Walden and Withersfield, and some British, Saxon, and English, including a great variety of the coinage of Henry VIII. being a hoard found at Kirtling.

– *GM* N.S. 23 (1845 ii), Sept. 1845, 275–6.

***EM11.** CORNWALL (County), May/June 1820.

A quantity of curious old coin was lately found in Cornwall, and brought a few days ago to Exeter for sale, consisting chiefly of the current monies of King Edward I. and IV. Henry VII. and VIII.; a great part of which are in the highest state of preservation; among them are the full and side face silver of Henry VII. and a remarkably brilliant groat of the latter coinage; also some fine specimens of groats, half-groats, and pennies of Henry VIII. struck in the mints of London, Canterbury, York, and Durham, with the initials of Cardinal Wolsey, Archbishop Cranmer, Archbishop Warham, Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, Cuthbertus Dunelmensis (Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham). There is likewise, in a very fair and perfect state, the celebrated groat with T.W. and the Cardinal's hat, which occasioned one of the forty-four articles of impeachment for treason, exhibited against Cardinal Wolsey in 1529. . . .

These coins were undoubtedly collected and hoarded during the period of Henry VIII. as more than fifty of the groats that were coined previous to his 16th or 18th year, with the fleur-de-lis, pheon, and rose mint marks, are nearly in as prime condition as when issued from the mint, and none are later than 1545, the 36th of that King's reign. The collection has been purchased by Mr. Shirley Woolmer, of this city. The groats are about the size of the present shillings, but not so thick.

– *GM* 90 (June 1820), 541.

***EM12. LONDON, Whitechapel, The Angel & Crown, 18 June 1752.**

(O)n the 18th ... some workmen digging for a foundation to build new houses near the Angel and Crown tavern in Whitechapel, found a large quantity of Q. Mary's gold coin, to the amount of upwards of 1000 l.

– *SM* 14 (June 1752), 315.

***EN36. LONDON BRIDGE, February 1757.**

Tuesday, 22 February. Three pots of money, silver and gold, of the coin of Q. Elizabeth, were found by the workmen in pulling down the houses on London bridge.

– *GM* 27 (Feb. 1757), 91.

***EO17. BRAEMAR, Aberdeen/now Grampian (NO 1591), autumn 1752.**

A farmer's servant lately casting turf in Braemar, Aberdeenshire, about a mile from the house of Invercauld, found a parcel of old silver coins, in value about 7 or 8 l. Sterling. A good many of them are Q. Elizabeth's and K. James I.'s; the rest are so much defaced, that it cannot be known how old they are. The Laird of Invercauld has purchased them.

– *SM* 14 (Nov. 1752), 557.

***EO18. WINCHESTER, Hants (SU 4829), May? 1843.**

Several English silver coins were found, a few weeks ago, on digging up a piece of ground lately enclosed near the railway station at Winchester, but really within the parish of Weeke. They were lying together, rather deep in the ground, without any bag or covering, and consist of groats of Mary, and Philip and Mary; sixpences of Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth, and James, and pennies of the two last-named sovereigns. Those of James are of his first mintage, 1603, and in fair preservation, which suggests the probability that the deposit was made early in the seventeenth century.

– *GM* N.S. 19 (1843 i, June), 636.

***EP144. BOSSALL, N Yorks (SE 7160), 6 June 1779.**

(A)n exact copy of the memorandum made by (Mr. Belt, of Bossal House) upon the spot at the period of (Sir Robert Belt's treasures, hidden during the civil wars) discovery.

'1779, June 6th, some of my father's servants in going round the moat at Bossal, found 29 pieces of gold coin of the reigns of King James I. and Charles I.; twenty-two pieces of silver, chiefly of Queen Elizabeth; also a large silver medal, supposed to be struck on the accession of James I. but no date on it. They were found in the side of the bank (the West side towards the North corner), nearly opposite the centre of the back Kitchen.

– *GM* 93 (Oct. 1823), 305–6, pl. 2, fig. 1 (reproduced at *Ency. ii, I*, 256).

***EP145. CHIPPENHAM, Wilts (ST 9173), January/February 1762.**

Monday, 8 February. Some men grubbing up the roots of an old oak near Chippenham in Wilts, they dug up an iron pot, in which were a great number of jacobusses, and other pieces of money in gold and silver coin.

– *GM* 32 (Feb. 1762), 90.

***EP146. HARTLEY, Hants, late March 1733.**

Sunday, April 1. A Few Days ago, Sir Simon Stuart, of Hartley in Hampshire, looking over some old Writings, found on the Back of one of them a Memorandum noting that 1500 Broad Pieces were buried in a certain Spot in an adjoining Field. Whereupon he took a Servant, and after digging a little in the Place, found the Treasure in a Pot, hid there in the Time of the late Civil Wars, by his Grandfather, Sir Nicholas Stuart.

– *GM* 3 (April 1733), 211.

Note: There are three Hartleys in Hampshire: H. Mauditt (SU 7436), H. Wespall (SU 6958), and H. Wintney (SU 7656). Local records might place the Stuart family holdings.

***EQ7. DALSTON, near Carlisle, Cumbria (NY 3650), September? 1786.**

Sept. 20. At Dalston near Carlisle, a person ploughing up potatoes near the Vicarage-house, followed by several people gathering after him, they observed a broad thick flag stone, which they had the curiosity to remove; when to their great joy they found a leather bag closed up with silver buttons, containing a quantity of broad-pieces of gold, of the old coin of England. When the stone was removed, the hole in which the bag was found was four feet deep, shrined round with stones. This money is supposed to have been hidden about the time when Charles II. took refuge at Dalston-hall, after the battle of Dunbar [September 1650].

– *GM* 56 (Nov. 1786), 989.

***EQ8. PITMINSTER, near Bath, Somerset (ST 2219), early June 1815.**

June 13. An old trunk has been found secreted in a wall at Farmer Poole's, at Pitminster, near Bath, and said to contain a great quantity of gold, Louis d'ors, &c. It is supposed to have been concealed there at the time of the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth [June/July 1685].

– *GM* 85 (Supp. i 1815), 639.

***ES16.** LONDON, Dyot Street, St. Giles, August 1773.

Saturday, 21 August. Two journeymen carpenters at work in an old house in Dyot street, St. Giles's, on taking up an old floor, found a small iron box, containing 44 King Charles's guineas.

– *GM* 43 (Aug. 1773), 409.

***ES17.** WARDOUR (CASTLE?), Wilts (ST 9226), spring? 1785.

A poor boy in a barn, at Wardour, in Wilts, catching rats, happened to tread upon a hollow place, which he was induced to examine, and there found a stone trough, in which was a quantity of gold and silver coin, to the amount of 100 *l.* and a gold ring. The major part was of the coinage of Charles II. in guineas, and crown-pieces, 110 of which are very fair, as were likewise the other money.

– *GM* 56 (June 1786), 520.

EZ17. LONDON, Broad Street, September 1758. *Add reference to 1st Addendum.*

Thursday, 7 September. Two bricklayers labourers in digging at the back of Mr Pearson's house in Broad-street discovered two vessels with ancient coins to a considerable value.

– *GM* 28 (Sept. 1758), 447.

***EZ18.** LONDON, Charing Cross neighbourhood (found in a family bible), November 1764.

London, Nov. 10. There were lately brought to the bank for payment, two bank-notes, for 100 *l.* each, dated in 1696, two years after the bank was established. They were found in an old family-bible, where it is supposed they have lain ever since. They are as large as an India bond, and the figure of Britannia is on the top of them. They contain above six times the writing that our present notes do. There is a reference to, and quotation from the charter of the company, and bear to be paid by 10 *l.* a time, and to have a penny a-day interest for one year. They were presented for payment by a banker at Charing cross, and, upon examining the books, allowed to be valid. Since payment, they have been shown as a curiosity.

– *SM* 26 (Nov. 1764), 629.

***GA10.** CIRENCESTER, Glos (SP 0202), December? 1803.

Deaths announced: At Cirencester, Mr John Johnsons, late of Oaksey, Wilts, yeoman. Amongst his property were found 144 crown-pieces of the reign of Queen Anne, which appeared to have been but little circulated, 20 half-crowns, 6 dollars, and a number of bank notes and guineas, besides several large and curious gold pieces of considerable value.

– *SM* 66 (Jan. 1804), 80.

Note: Evidently a miser's hoard, even if not actually buried.

***GA11.** LEEDS CASTLE, Kent (TQ 8253), April/May 1794.

A few days since, as three carpenters were removing an old escrutoire in Leeds-Castle, Kent, they found concealed there, in guineas, half guineas, and other coins, to nearly the amount of five hundred pounds, which they restored to Dr. Fairfax, the present proprietor of that ancient mansion who rewarded them with ten guineas each for their honesty. The guineas and half guineas were all coined in Queen Anne's reign and are supposed to have been there since the beginning of this century.

– *GM* 64 (May 1794), 476.

***GA12.** LONDON, 'Broker's Chair hoard', February 1767.

Wednesday, 25 February. A woman bought an old chair at a broker's, and upon ripping the top off, to have it new covered, found concealed in one corner, 21 guineas, all Q. Anne's coin, and a bank note, value 200 *l.* both tied up in a canvas bag; she gave for the chair 18d.

– *GM* 37 (Feb. 1767), 94.

***GA13.** LONDON, Drury Lane, January? 1768.

Tuesday, Feb. 2. The wife of a soldier in the guards, having purchased a bed of a broker in Drury lane, in carrying it home upon her head, thought she felt something hard in it. Upon opening the seam to see what it was, found 42 guineas and two queen Anne's crown pieces.

– *GM* 38 (Feb. 1768), 91.

***GA14.** NORWICH, Norfolk (TG 2208), late summer 1768 (mini-hoard).

Tuesday, 6 September. In pulling down an old house at Norwich, the workmen found two dies; one for coining guineas, the other pistoles. It is recollected, that in the year 1710, one Samuel Self, a bookseller, dwelt in that house, who being charged with forging stamps, was apprehended, tried, and convicted of that offence; and it is supposed that he also counterfeited the gold coin, and that the dies were hidden by him.

– *GM* 38 (Sept. 1768), 443.

Note: Although no coins, false or otherwise, were reported found with the dies, this is a *coiner's* mini-hoard.

***GC13.** SWATON, Lincs (TF 1337), April? 1785.

Monday 11 April. Some labourers, in digging a slope on the edge of a pond, near the Paper Mill, at Swarton (*sic*), the property of Mr. Vowell, in casting up the earth, they cast up, in Portugal and other gold, money to the amount of 800 l. besides a rough diamond of considerable value.

– GM 55 (April 1785), 317.

***GD42.** TOPCLIFFE, Yorks, May? 1782.

May 24. Mr. Jackson, and three of his workmen, digging in his grounds adjoining to Topecliff (*sic*) Mill in Yorkshire, under a bushy crab, found guineas and half guineas to the amount of £57 4s. 6d.; which, answering to the sum stolen from the compting-house belonging to the mill some years before, was honestly returned.

– GM 52 (June 1782), 305.

Note: There are two Topcliffes in Yorkshire: N Yorks (SE 4076) and W Yorks (SE 2727).

GE6. STANMORE, Middx?, 1836. *Add reference.*

The following strange discovery has caused no small degree of sensation in the village of Stanmore. It appears that a labouring man was hedging in a field at the rear of the parsonage-house, occupied by the Rev. A.R. Chauval, when he found about 400 gold coins, consisting of Louis d'Ors, Napoleons, and Portuguese pieces, called Johannes. The circumstances being made known, at an early hour on the following morning, thirty-one more labourers, in the hope of similarly enriching themselves, repaired with pickaxes, shovels, &c. to the spot, and after very little labour, possessed themselves of a further supply of the like coins (which were inclosed in a square tin box), 320 in number. The money is supposed to have been deposited a few years ago by an eccentric foreign gentleman, who dwelt near the parsonage for a short period, and then went abroad.

– GM 3, 5 (1836 i, March), 302.

SL3. PERTH, Castle Gable, July? 1803. *Add reference.*

In pulling down an old house in the Castle Gable, Perth, there was found secreted in the wall, a bag containing a great quantity of Scottish silver and copper coins, chiefly of James III. and IV.

– SM 65 (July 1803), 506.

***SM10.** MUCKLE GEDDES Farm, Calder/Cawder parish, Nairn/now Highland, c. 1739.

The Gold Coin herewith sent (*Fig. 5*) was found in a small earthen jar, with a number of others, under the ruins of an old barn accidentally burnt down, on a farm called Muckle Geddes, in the parish of Calder, in the county of Nairn. It was a present from an old aunt of mine, who had it in her possession 70 years. The female part of my grandfather's family (who rented the farm of Mr. Campbell, the present Lord Cawdor's father) made some of them into rings. When the proprietor heard of the treasure, he demanded and got what remained.

– GM 79 (Oct. 1809), 914, pl. 2, fig. 5 (Scottish unicorn: reproduced in *Ency. ii, I, 127*).

Note: Probably the farm spelled Meikle Geddes (NH 8652) on modern maps.

SN13. AYR (near), July 1793. *Add reference with additional details.*

Edinburgh, July 27. Some days ago, there were found, about three miles from the town of Ayr, in an old midden stead, a great many ounces (probably from 20 to 30) of the Silver coinage of Mary Queen of Scots, consisting of the testoons and the half-testoons of Mary, Francis, and Mary, including the years 1555 and 1562[,] and a great many of the Billon pieces, Jam non sunt dvo sed vno caro, the years 1558, 1559. They were all contained in an earthen pot, which a cow accidentally broke with her foot as she was passing over. Among some ounces, which a gentleman of Glasgow has got, there is the rare and beautiful testoon, with Mary's head, 1562. They are all in the highest preservation, and must have been early deposited, as none of them bear the thistle stamp. . . . Some other of the coins have the following mottos: – Con humile delice Dni. – Vicit leo de tribu juda. – Jam non sunt dvo sed una Caro. – Saluum fac Populum tuum Dominie.

– GM 63 (Aug. 1793), 761.

SN16. EARLSTON, early May 1787. *Add reference.*

Aberdeen, May 12. A few days ago, on digging out the foundation of an old house at Earlston belonging to Capt. Pringle, two horns were found, containing above 200 gold, silver, and copper coins of James I., II., IV., and V. Kings of Scotland, and some of Queen Mary.

– GM 57 (June 1787), 540.

SN17. GLASGOW, No. 3, Taylor's Street, 9 January 1795. *Add reference.*

On the forenoon of the 9th, as some workmen were levelling the ground in the south end of Taylor's-street, Glasgow, north-side of the Rottenrow, where an old ruinous house formerly stood, they dug up, with a pick-ax,

an earthen pot, supposed to contain nearly a Scotch pint, full of gold coins of different sizes, the number uncertain, as the workmen and by-standers had a precious scramble; but, by all accounts, 800 or 900, or probably more. A gentleman who had access to see a few of them, has favoured us with the following brief account:

– Of the Scotch coins, he found of James III. and IV. those gold pieces known by the name of the Unicorn, and its half; the Ryder of James IV. with his title. – Coins of James V. and also of Queen Mary. These were the only varieties that appeared of the Scotch coins.

– Of the English coins there were several, mostly the pieces called Angels, of Henry VI. the coinage of his 49th year; and one of Henry VIII. There appear to be several foreign coins; such as French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Imperial, and Popish among them.

– As none of the coins yet examined appear to be later than those of Queen Mary of Scotland, it is probable that they had been deposited during the troubles in her reign.

– *SM* 57 (Jan. 1795), 66–7.

***SN35.** (if not **SZ8** – see below). ELGIN, Elgin/now Grampian (NJ 2162), October? 1772.

Saturday, 31 October. Some Scots gold coin has lately been dug out of the ruins of an old religious house at Elgin. Some of the pieces are fair, and appear to have been struck in the reign of Queen Mary on her marriage with Lord Darnley.

– *GM* 42 (Oct. 1772), 494.

SO14. ELGIN (near), 21 July 1759. *Add references.*

On the 21st of July, several pieces of gold coin were found in the ruins of an old religious house, called, My Lady's high house, near Elgin; mostly Scotch, of James V. of Q. Mary during her marriage with Lord Darnley, and of James VI.; some of them French, and some Spanish.

– *SM* 21 (June 1759), 442.

Tuesday, 7 July. Some Scots gold coin have lately been found among the ruins of an old religious house near Elgin. Some of the pieces appear to have been struck in the reign of Mary during her marriage with Ld Darnley; there are several other coins all very fair.

– *GM* 29 (July 1759), 389.

Note: In 1759, July 7th was a Saturday, the 17th and 24th Tuesdays. However, the *SM* June issue evidently was published some months later because another entry cites an event occurring in August. A discovery date of July 21st does not agree with the reported date in *GM*.

SO15. KELSO, Roxburgh, May/early June 1789. *Add reference.*

Kelso, June 12. A few days ago, in taking down an old house in this town, three gold coins of James VI. were found, all in good preservation, of which a description follows:

1st, On one side, a Ship with two flags, one of them inscribed with the letter I. the other with the figure 6. a small Rose on one side of the ship, and below, a Thistle; in the middle, the Escutcheon and a Crown of Scotland: motto, IACOBVS. 6. DEI. GRATIA. REX. SCOTORVM. On the reverse, two Sceptres transversed in the form of a St Andrew's Cross, the ends of both ornamented with a Crown, a large Rose surrounding the whole, with a Thistle between each leaf, and a large Thistle in the centre; in the inside of the Rose, four Lions crowned: – motto, FLORENT. SCEPT. PIIS. REGNA. HIS. IOVA. DAT. NVMERATQ.

– 2d, On one side, the Head of the King, covered with an oblong cap; behind, a Thistle: motto, IACOBVS. 6. D.G.R. SCOTORVM. On the reverse, a Lion sitting erect, crowned, holding up a Sceptre in one of his Paws to the Name of God, inscribed in Hebrew characters: motto, TE. SOLVM. VERFOR. 1593.

– 3d, The King mounted upon a horse, in full armour; beneath, 1593: motto, IACOBVS. 6. D.G.R. SCOTORVM. On the reverse, the Escutcheon and Crown of Scotland: motto, SPERO. MELIORA.

– The 1st is bigger than a half-crown piece, and the 2d and 3d larger than a shilling, but thinner: the three together are nearly the weight of two heavy guineas.'

– *SM* 51 (June 1789), 299–300.

SO16. LINLITHGOW, West Lothian, 6 June 1789. *Add references.*

June 6. This day was discovered, to the owner of an ancient building here, several pieces of gold and silver coin of King Robert Bruce, James I. II. III. IV. V. and VI. The proprietor of this ancient building, Mr William Kenmore, cabinet-maker here, and only made a purchase of the house lately. . . . (W)orkmen . . . in digging four feet below the surface of the sand [under the house], found several pieces, and, upon digging a little deeper, found an earthen vessel with a large quantity. The proprietor being absent when the above happened, the workmen (eight in number) enjoined each other to secrecy. While they were dividing the spoil, the maid-servant called, inquiring for her master; but was soon bribed to secrecy. The affair was discovered by the servant-maid endeavouring to procure change for one of the pieces, which she called a shilling. Upon inquiry being made, the proprietor has only

recovered upwards of 300 pieces of silver coin, and about 20 of gold. The workmen have refused to deliver up the rest upon various pretences.

– *SM* 51 (June 1789), p. 299.

Note: An abbreviated version of this account also appeared in *GM* 59 (June 1789), 560.

***SP47. BIRDSTONE**, Campsie parish, Stirling/now Strathclyde (NS 6575), spring 1789.

John Muir, jun. in ditching through a piece of bog, at Birdstone, (parish of Campsie,) about 20 inches below the surface, alighted upon 200 pieces of ancient silver coin, which in all weigh about 6 lb. troy weight. The largest are about the size of crowns, and the least not so small as our sixpence. There is one above eleven hundred years since it was coined, and others much older. There are coins of many nations among them, as Roman, Danish, English, Scots, and other northern nations; and the latest that can be observed are some of the Charles's. It is the tradition at that place, that much money was thrown in there about the time that Oliver Cromwell went past that place.

– *SM* 52 (May 1790), 255–6.

***SP48. HAMILTON**, Netherton Wynd, Lanark/now Strathclyde (NS 7255), July/August 1814.

A few days ago the workmen employed in clearing out the foundations of some old houses in Netherton Wynd, of Hamilton, found of quantity of half-crowns, shillings, and sixpence coins, of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles – which had probably been hid about the time of the battle of Bothwell Bridge [June 1679], betwixt the Covenanters and the King's troops.

– *SM* 76 (Aug. 1814), 633.

SZ8 (if not the same as ***SN35** above). ELGIN, spring 1772. *Add reference.*

Wednesday, 6 May. The ruins of an old house fell down at Elgin, in Scotland, when a considerable quantity of gold coin, of different dates, value, and impressions, were discovered. About ten years ago, some antique pieces of the same sort of coin were found near the same spot.

– *GM* 42 (May 1772), 242.

***NT5. BLANCO ISLAND**, West Indies, summer 1765.

A considerable treasure has lately been discovered in the island of Blanco, in the West-Indies, said to have been buried there by the famous pyrate Blackbeard [i.e. c. 1713–18].

– *GM* 35 (Aug. 1765), 390.

Note: Although it is not certain that this hoard contained 'one or more coins of Great Britain or Ireland', a chest of West Indian mixed pirate loot probably would have.

***IU20. DUBLIN**, Mary's Abbey, late summer 1771.

Thursday, 19 September. An iron chest was found concealed in the foundation of an old wall in Mary's Abbey, Dublin, containing 3000 of the late King James's halfcrowns [gun-/brass-money].

– *GM* 41 (Sept. 1771), 423.

***IU21. DUBLIN**, before 1775.

An unsigned letter reprints an article on Irish gun-/brass-money from 'the 5th Vol. of Philosophical Transactions, abridged by Mr. Jones', and remarks of the pewter crowns that '[There was] very little of it coined, for our Government could meet with none of it; until one Day, rummaging their Treasure, that they had left behind them in Dublin when they were routed, by Accident I met with one Bag of 150 of those Pieces.'¹¹

– *GM* 44 (Dec. 1774), 558–9.

¹¹ Quotation from T. Putland, *The Philosophical Transactions (From the Year 1700, to the Year 1720). Abridg'd and Dispos'd under General Heads*, p. 31. By Henry Jones, M.A. and Fellow of King's College. Cambridge. Vol. v, part 2:

Philosophical and Miscellaneous Papers. London, 1731. Original version in *Phil. Trans.* no. 297, p. 1875; original capitalization and punctuation restored.

*Hoard of unknown composition****U1. BURSTALL ABBEY**, Holderness, E Yorks/now Humberside, early 1791?

Mr. *Cooper* has sent us some sketches of coins in the possession of Mr. Walter, of Hull, found lately at Burstall Abbey in Holderness . . . they are not rare [but also unfortunately not illustrated].

– *GM* 61 (April 1791), 362.

***U2. CONDOVER HALL?**, near Shrewsbury, Salop (SJ 4905), June 1767 (possibly Roman?).

Tuesday, 9 June. As some workmen were employed in pulling down part of Cundover Hall (*sic*), near Shrewsbury, they found in removing some stones in the vault, an iron box of about 20 inches long, and 14 broad, in which was contained several very curious ancient medals, together with a brass statue, about 16 inches high, which is supposed to be the statue of some heathen god.

– *GM* 37 (June 1767), 328.

***U3. LONDON**, Black Lion Court, Houndsditch, April 1765 (18c? foreign gold).

Tuesday, 16 April. Two carpenters, in pulling down an old house in Black-lion court, Houndsditch, found as much foreign gold coin as they sold for 34 *l*.

– *GM* 35 (April 1765), 196.

***U4. SELBY**, N Yorks (SE 6132), July 1775 (gold – possibly Roman?).

26 July. A stone coffin was dug up in the garden of Mr. Lister of Selby, in Yorkshire, in which was a human body. . . . Four gold pieces are said to have been found in the coffin, intrinsically worth 20 *l*.

– *GM* 45 (Aug. 1775), 402.

***U5. UPPINGHAM?**, Rutland/now Leics (SP 8699), June 1764 (English silver?).

Friday, 22 June. Near 200 pieces of antient silver coin being discovered at the house of Cornelius Nutt at Uppington [*recte* Uppingham?] in Rutlandshire, a report was spread that the man's daughter had been informed of the place where they were hid in a dream. Be that as it may, some of these coins are said to be very valuable.

– *GM* 34 (June 1764), 301.

***U6. WAKEFIELD**, Norgate, W Yorks (SE 3320), c. 1780 ('ancient' gold).

Dec. 30. (A) quantity of ancient gold coin (was) found several years ago in taking down a house in Norgate, Wakefield. (F.R. Scarisbing.)

– *GM* 54 (Supp. 1784), 974–5.

*Single finds****F1. CANTERBURY** (near), 1747 or earlier (Anglo-Saxon sceat).

Fig. IV. A silver coin of that size, dug up in a hop ground near Canterbury.

– *GM* 17 (July 1747), plate facing 322; reproduced in *BNJ* 44 (1974), pl. II, H.

***F2. HULL**, 1747 or earlier (Anglo-Saxon thrymsa).

Fig. 2. is a gold coin supposed to be Saxon . . . weighing 19 grains troy [appears to be a Merovingian thrymsa with elaborate reverse monogram]

– *GM* 17 (Nov. 1747), 526, facing plate (reproduced in *Ency. ii*, I, 27).

***F3. RICHMOND** (near), Yorks, 1832 or earlier (Archbishop of York styca/penny).

I send you a correct drawing of a Coin lately discovered in the ancient Hospital of St. Nicholas in the vicinity of this town. . . . I believe it to be a Styca of Egbert, the seventh Archbishop of York; he held that See from the year 735 to the year 767; and was subsequently canonized. I read the inscription 'EGBERHT . ARChiepiscopus'. . . . The reverse is very imperfect. . . . This coin is in the possession of Christopher Clarkson, esq. the worthy and able historian of Richmond. (William Wright, of Richmond, Yorks.)

– *GM* 102/N.S. 25 (1832 i, April), 304, text fig. (pl. 11, 11); also see ii, 601–2, text fig. (pl. 11 12); 1835 ii, 471.

***F4. WORCESTER**, Worcs/now Hereford & Worcester, 1824 (Anglo-Saxon gold penny).

A gold coin [of Edward the Confessor] is now in the possession of Thomas Henry Spurrier, esq. of Edgbaston, near Birmingham, which was found in 1824, on pulling down the old church of St. Clement's, Worcester. It is in high preservation, and weighs 54½ grains.

– *GM* 3, 8 (1837 ii, Dec.), 637–8.

Note: See Allen, *BNJ* 3, 5 (1945–8), 259–76, pl., and specifically 265 which refers to this brief report.

***F5. YORKSHIRE?** (County), 1757 or earlier (Norman gold penny).

Curious account of a gold penny of one of the Williams, supposed to be a unic, formerly the property of Mr. Bolton of Newcastle, now in the possession of James Farrer of Bamborough Grange, Yorks. Wt – something more than 21 grains. (Samuel Pegge.)

– *GM* 27 (Nov. 1757), 499–500, facing page, figs. 9–10 (reproduced in another context in *BNJ* 59 (1989), 203; *Ency. ii, 1, 38*).

***F6. Unknown Location** (Warwickshire?), 1836 or earlier (Anglo-Saxon penny).

Letter on an unpublished penny of Eadred: EADRED REX around head / ALBERT ON AEMI or LEMI, 'most probably for LEMININGTVNE, or Leamington, as it is now spelt. . . . This coin has been sold . . . to the British Museum for £3., a sum certainly not above its value. (Charles Roach Smith, Lothbury.)

– *GM* 3, 6 (1836 ii, Sept.), 266, text fig. (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1, 154*).

***F7. Unknown Location** (Yorkshire?), 1756 or earlier (Northumbrian styca/penny).

Here is a 7th coin found to belong to Archbp Wigmund [of York; given to him by George Fleming]. (Samuel Pegge.)

– *GM* 26 (Feb. 1756), 64–5, plate facing 64, fig. 5 (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1, 27*).

***F8. Mixed Finds.** 1796 or earlier.

Coins in the bottom half of the plate include:

3. a counterfeit sterling;

4. one of William the Conqueror (Southgate collection);

5. Richard III (Southgate collection), which, differs greatly from the penny engraved by Withy and Ryall (copied by Snelling, and in the plates to Folkes), which is, I believe, generally allowed to be a counterfeit. It is now in Dr. Hunter's cabinet.

6. A Saxon halfpenny of Edward the elder, in the Bodleian Library. . . . It is supposed to be unique.

7. a piece of [Saxon] gold found in St. Giles's parish in Oxford . . . first noticed in [Robert] Plot's *Oxfordshire*, in 1677. (Rev. Rogers Ruding.)

– *GM* 66 (Aug. 1796), 639–40, pl. 2 facing 640 (reproduced in *Ency. ii, 1, 82*).

Index of Coin Hoards/Finds

Numbers without letter prefixes refer to Thompson's *Inventory*; two-letter prefixes to Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards*. A star prefix indicates hoards/finds added to these lists. '*F' = single find; '*U' = unknown composition.

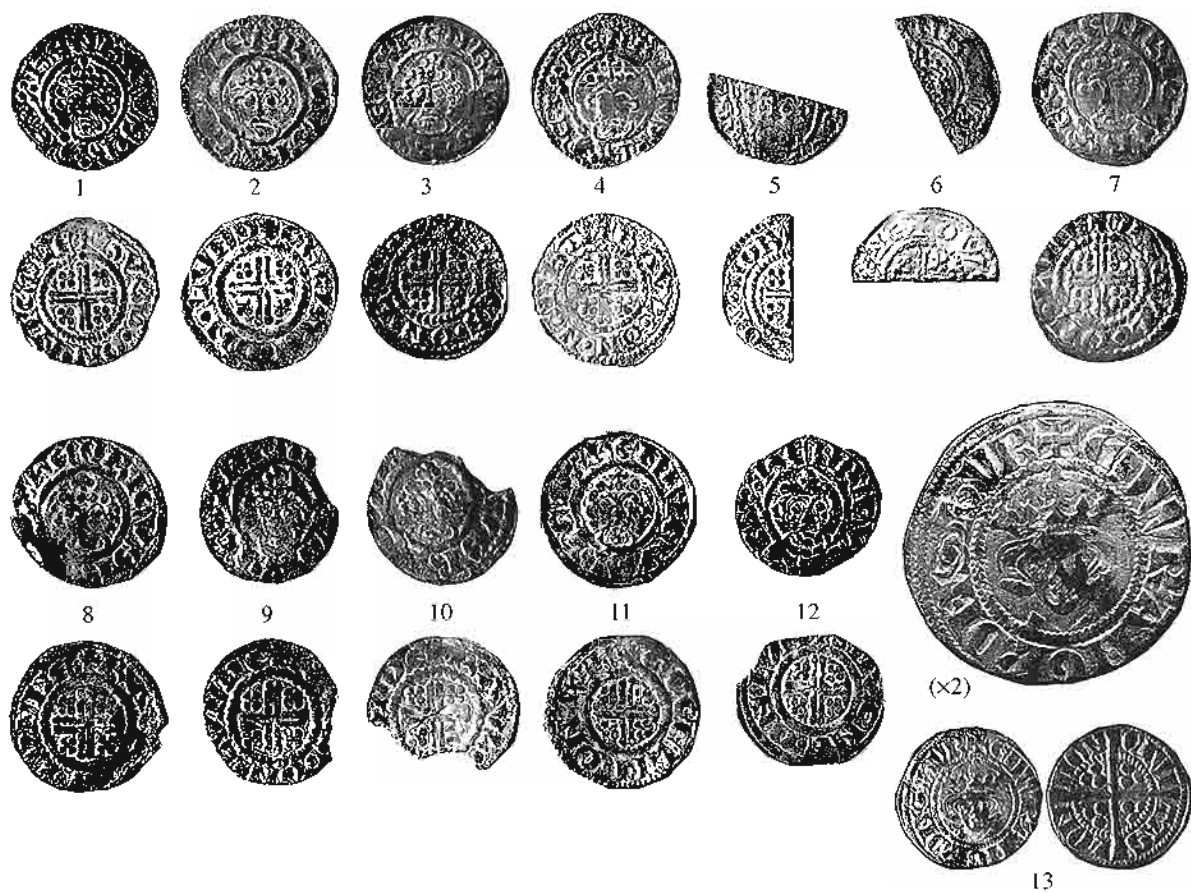
1	Aberdeen	*157a	Faringdon
14	Ashby Wolds	159	Fenwick
SN13	Ayr	*259a	Finchley Common, London
		162	Flaxton
*35a	Bath		
*35b	Bath	SN17	Glasgow
37	Beauworth	176	Gravesend
*38a	Beckenham		
*41a	Benacre	*179a	Hallyclare
*42a	Betham Church	*SP48	Hamilton
*42b	Biggleswade	*EP146	Hartley
*SP47	Birdstone	*185a	Hatton Mill
*U3	Black Lion Court, London	*185b	Henstridge
*NT5	Blanco Island	188	Hexham
*EP144	Bossall	*193a	Horseheath
*E17	Braemar	*F2	Hull
52	Bramham Moor		
55	Brechin	*197a	Inverness
*57a	Brinkburn Priory		
	Brinzey <i>see</i> Congresbury	*203a	Jersey
EZ17	Broad Street, London		
60	Brownlee	SO15	Kelso
*60a	Burn Hall	*207a	Kilkenny
*U1	Burstall Abbey	EL7	Kirtling, Cambs
		*225a	Knaresborough
*65a	Caergwrle		
66	Caldale	*GA11	Leeds Castle
*68a	Cambridge	SO16	Linlithgow
69	Campsey Ash	*GA12	London ('broker's chair')
*F1	Canterbury		London <i>see</i>
*EZ18	Charing Cross, London		Black Lion Court
*EP145	Chippenham		Broad Street
*GA10	Cirencester		Charing Cross
*U2	Condover Hall		Drury Lane
97	Congresbury/Brinzey		Dyot Street
*EM11	Cornwall		Finchley Common
105	Crieff	*EN36	Whitechapel
112	Cuerdale	*263a	London Bridge
			Lumphanan
*EQ7	Dalston	*265a	Meath
*116a	Dean	270	Milton Street
123	Dorking	*F8	mixed finds
*GA13	Drury Lane, London	273	Morayshire/Dyke
*IU20	Dublin	*SM10	Muckle Geddes
*IU21	Dublin		
*142a	Dunfermline	*277a	Naburn
	Dyke <i>see</i> Morayshire	*GA14	Norwich
*ES16	Dyot Street, London	294	Nottingham
SN16	Earlston	*298a	Oulton
*151a	Eaton Coppice	*301a	Oxford
*153a	Edinburgh		
*SN35	Elgin	303	Paisley
SO14	Elgin	*308a	Penninghame
SZ8	Elgin	*309a	Perth
		*309b	Perth

SL3	Perth	*GD42	Topcliffe
*EQ8	Pitminster	363	Tutbury
			Tyrie <i>see</i> Tiree
*313a	Ramshaw Moor		
*F3	Richmond	*371a	unknown site
*320a	St Andrews	*U5	Uppingham
*320b	St Kilda		
*323a	Scone Palace		
*U4	Selby	*U6	Wakefield
*330a	Sketty	*ES17	Wardour
338	Stafford	*F6	Warwickshire?
GE6	Stanmore	*EM12	Whitechapel, London
*342a	Sterlingshire	*EO18	Winchester
*GC13	Swaton	*F4	Worcester
		382	Wyke
358	Tiree/Tyrie		
*361a	Tredington	*F5	Yorkshire
*361b	Tredington	*F7	Yorkshire?

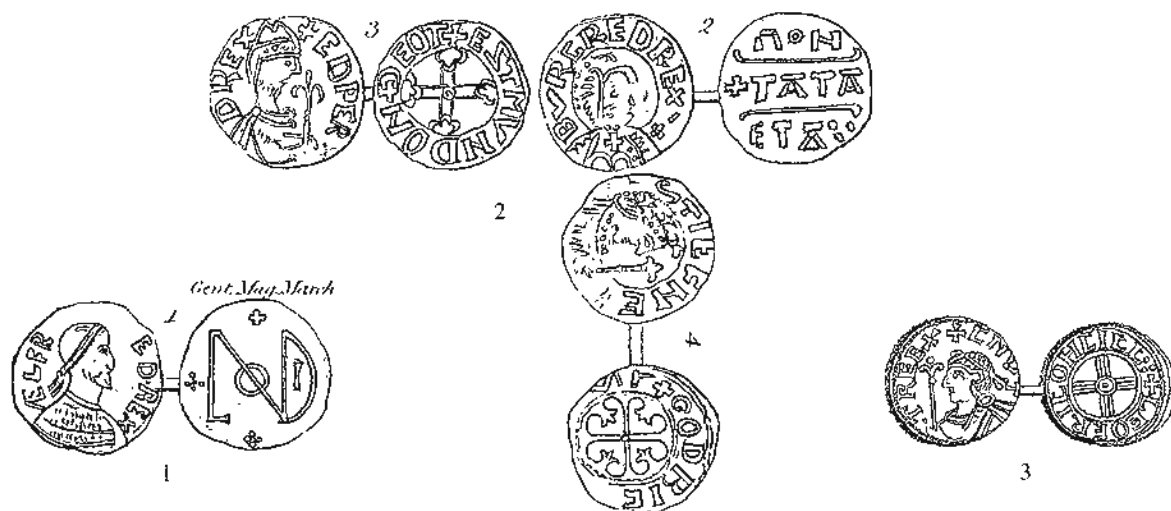
Abbreviations

<i>Arch. Jour.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>British Numismatic Journal</i>
<i>Ency. ii, 1</i>	H.E. Manville, <i>Numismatic Guide to British & Irish Periodicals 1731–1991. Encyclopædia of British Numismatics vol. ii, part 1 (archæological)</i> ([London], 1993)
<i>GM</i>	<i>The Gentleman's Magazine</i>
<i>Med. Arch.</i>	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
<i>Nichols File</i>	James M. Kuist, <i>The Nichols File of 'The Gentleman's Magazine'</i> (The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982)
<i>NCirc</i>	Spink's <i>Numismatic Circular</i>
<i>Phil. Trans.</i>	The Royal Society's <i>Philosophical Transactions</i>
<i>PSAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
<i>RNS</i>	Royal Numismatic Society
<i>SM</i>	<i>The Scots Magazine</i>

PLATE 10



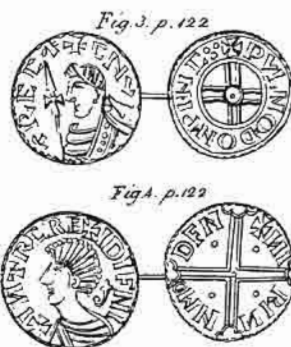
BESLY: WELSH HOARDS



MANVILLE: ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS (1)



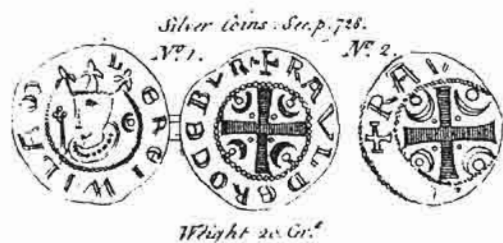
4



5



6

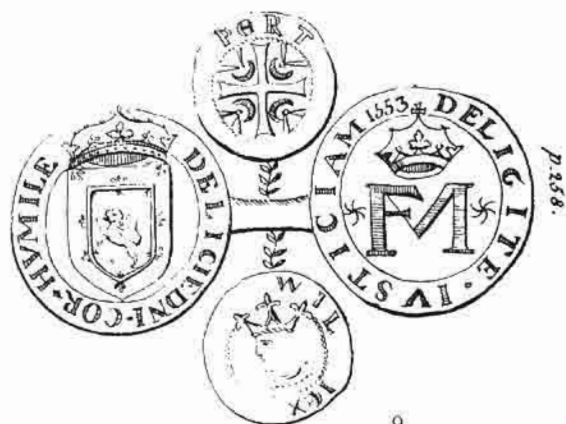


Weight 20 Gr.

7



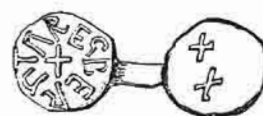
8



9

Mr. URBAN, *Richmond, Yorkshire,*
Jan. 28.

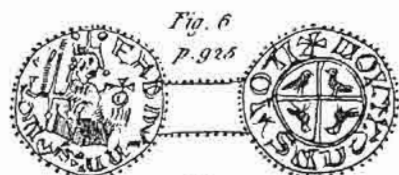
I SEND you a correct drawing of a
Coin lately discovered in the ancient
Hospital of St. Nicholas, in the vicinity
of this town.



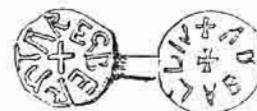
11

The sketch enclosed, shows Mr.
Gordon's idea of the reverse of the
coin, ADEALWIN, probably the
name of the moneyer by whom it was
struck.

Obverse. EGBERHT AR. Reverse.
ATHEAL... (BIN, or WIN).



10



12

ANDREAS FOUNTAINE EQUES AURATUS A.A.A.F III VIR

H.E. PAGAN

ON 14 August 1701 Charles Gerard, Earl of Macclesfield, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from King William III of England, arrived at the court of Hannover to present the Electress Sophia with a copy of the Act of Succession, which declared that the succession to the English crown after the future Queen Anne was to be vested in the Electress and her descendants. Among those who accompanied Lord Macclesfield was a man in his mid twenties, Andrew Fountaine, who over the next quarter of a century was to form one of the greatest of European coin collections. Although he sold his collection before the end of the 1720s, and no list of the coins, no bills for his purchases and very little other contemporary documentation survives, what follows is an attempt to put together the evidence for Fountaine's numismatic career.¹

He was the son of a London barrister and member of parliament, who possessed a small landed estate in the county of Norfolk.² He was born in 1676, and was educated first as a King's Scholar at Eton College, and then, from October 1693 onwards, at Christ Church, the wealthiest and most celebrated of the colleges of the University of Oxford. His tutor at Christ Church was Dr Edward Wells, later also the tutor of the numismatist Browne Willis.³ While at Christ Church, where he remained in residence after taking his B.A. degree in February 1697, he caught the eye of its then head, Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church from 1689 to 1714, who selected him first as a 'Canoneer Student' and subsequently, as 'the best classical scholar in the University' to deliver a Latin oration when William III visited Oxford in 1695.⁴ It seems to have been a combination of this and of his father's political connections that led to his being knighted by the king at Hampton Court Palace on 30 December 1699, an unusual mark of distinction for a young man who had yet to embark on a career and whose family possessed only modest landed or invested wealth. It is not possible to say more about his early life, but it is relevant that his first patron, Dean Aldrich, was a gifted musician, a keen amateur architect, and a collector of illustrated books, engravings and drawings.⁵ For Aldrich's influence on

¹ The present paper was delivered to a symposium on numismatic literature at the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel, Germany, in the autumn of 1992. In the outline of Sir Andrew Fountaine's career and continental travels given here I have greatly benefited from Andrew W. Moore, *Norfolk & the grand tour... eighteenth century travellers abroad and their souvenirs*, Norfolk Museums Service, 1985, 168pp (where Fountaine and his travels are discussed on pp. 26-31, and thirty paintings and other works of art from his collections are catalogued on pp. 93-113), and from Sir Brinsley Ford, 'Sir Andrew Fountaine, one of the keenest virtuosi of his age', *Apollo*, November 1985, pp. 352-63. The chronology of Fountaine's travels in 1701-3 and 1714-16 set out here is based directly on their researches.

² Andrew Fountaine (c. 1637-1707), Sir Andrew's father, had sat in the House of Commons as member for Newton (Lancashire), a pocket borough controlled by his wife's brother-in-law, from 1679 to 1685. See the entry on him by Irene Cassidy in B.D. Henning, *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1660-1690*, p. 350.

³ Information kindly supplied by Dr Mark Curthoys,

archivist, Christ Church, Oxford. The statement in the Dictionary of National Biography that his tutor was Henry Aldrich (see below) is incorrect.

⁴ According to a memorandum on Sir Andrew Fountaine drawn up after Fountaine's death by a Mr Benjamin Ibbot, who had known him well in his later years. It survives in a nineteenth century transcript still in the possession of the Fountaine family, and was reproduced by (Sir) J.C. Robinson in a letter printed in *The Times*, 18 April 1884, soon afterwards reprinted for issue with priced copies of the catalogue of the Christie's sale of 16-19 June 1884 at which the family collection of maiolica, and a small residual collection of coins and medals, was dispersed.

⁵ The fullest study of Aldrich is that by W.G. Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich*, Oxford, 1960, 76pp, 44 plates. See also the chapter on 'Henry Aldrich, book collector, musician, architect', in W.G. Hiscock, *A Christ Church miscellany*, 1946, pp. 17-30; and the entry on Aldrich in H. Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of British architects* (London, 1978), pp. 63-4.

Fontaine we have indeed specific evidence that in November 1704 Fontaine was still regarded by John Moore, Bishop of Ely, as 'a bigoted creature of the Dean of Christ Church'.⁶

Sir Andrew's arrival in Hannover in August 1701 was for him only the first event in a Grand Tour through Germany and Italy which was to last until the late spring of 1703. His next point of call after Hannover was Berlin, which he seems to have reached by late September or early October, and where he was fortunate enough to make friends with the great statesman and scientist Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz.⁷ From Berlin he went by way of Wittenberg to Leipzig, where he was on 24 October, and then to Munich, which he had reached by 25 November. On the way between Leipzig and Munich he spent three days at Arnstadt, being shown by the Swiss Protestant scholar Andreas Morell the coin collection which Morell had been in charge of since 1694 for the Sondershausen line of the counts of Schwarzburg. This is important because it is the first dated evidence that we have for Fontaine taking an interest in coins, and Fontaine himself records the impact made on him by the scale and range of the collection at Arnstadt;⁸ but he must surely have been keen on numismatics already, for no absolute beginner would spend three days working through a collection, and there is a contemporary statement that he came from England with 'so rich a stock of knowledge & experience in medals, statues, carvings & designing' that he could find 'little to learn in countries, which boast themselves to be the most famous schools of these sciences'.⁹ His next stop was Vienna, where he was on 10 December, meeting the Italian-born antiquary Luigi Ferdinando, Conte Marsigli, and suggesting to him that Morell should be sent for by the Emperor to arrange the Imperial coin collection 'that lies at present in very great confusion'.¹⁰

He was still at Vienna on 14 January 1702, but by 29 January he was in Salzburg and he shortly afterwards crossed into Italy, going by way of Venice to Padua, where he was on 20 March, and to Rome, which he had reached by some date in April.¹¹ He reported to Leibnitz in a letter written from Rome on 1 June that he found his time fully occupied by the antiquities and other curiosities of the city, and that he had had frequent conversations with the numismatist Cardinal Enrico Noris and with the archaeologist Francesco Bianchini;¹² but he cannot have stayed in Rome long after that, for he then spent some time in Florence and was already back north of the Alps, in Augsburg, on 27 September.¹³ In November 1705 he was to tell an English numismatic friend, William Nicolson, Bishop of Carlisle, that when at Padua

⁶ *The London diaries of William Nicolson Bishop of Carlisle 1702-1718*, edited by C. Jones and G. Holmes (Oxford, 1985), p. 219 (diary entry by Bishop Nicolson dated 4 November 1704).

⁷ This is shown by correspondence between Fontaine and Leibnitz printed in *State papers and correspondence illustrative of the social and political state of Europe from the Revolution to the accession of the House of Hanover*, edited by J.M. Kemble (London, John W. Parker & Son, 1857). Kemble prints ten letters from Fontaine to Leibnitz carrying dates between 18 Oct 1701 and 29 Jan 1703/4; and two letters from Leibnitz to Fontaine, one dated 12 Nov 1701, and the other probably of February 1704.

⁸ Sir A. Fontaine, *Numismata Anglo-Saxonica et Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata* (1705), p. 166. A letter from Morell to Fontaine dating from early in 1702 survives in the Fontaine family archives (Moore, p. 94). In addition, Morell chose Fontaine as the person to whom to address a 9-page printed letter, seemingly published towards the end of 1702 under the title *Lettre écrite à Monsieur le Chevalier Fontaine par André Morell pour servir de réponse à un extrait de lettre, que le Journal de Paris dit avoir été écrite audit Morell par M. Galland, Antiquaire de Monsieur Foucault, Intendant du Roy*

en Normandie. I have here to record that having myself failed to trace a copy of this rare printed item, I applied for help to Dr Christien Dekeyser who was then about to visit the former ducal collection at Gotha, into which the coins from Arnstadt were integrated later in the eighteenth century, and he most kindly both located the former ducal copy of Morell's publication in the Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha and sent me a photocopy of it.

⁹ Moore, p. 28, quoting a statement to this effect enclosed in a letter of late 1702 to Fontaine's mother.

¹⁰ Fontaine to Leibnitz, 14 Jan 1702 (Kemble, ed., p. 260, letter 114).

¹¹ Ford, p. 352. Fontaine's presence in Padua on 20 March 1702 is documented by his signing the matriculation book of the University of Padua on that day (H.F. Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi all'Università di Padova dall'anno 1618 sino al 1765* (1921), p. 184), and he was in Rome by 5 April when he visited the Duke of Shrewsbury there (*HMC Buccleuch II*, pt. ii, 1903).

¹² Fontaine to Leibnitz, 1 June 1702 (Kemble, ed., p. 273, letter 125).

¹³ Moore, p. 28, on the authority of a letter of that date from Fontaine at Augsburg to Robert Nelson.

he had purchased 'the whole collection' of the numismatist Charles Patin,¹⁴ and there is a later reference to his having made 'large acquisitions of coins' on this visit to Italy;¹⁵ and in a farewell letter that he wrote to Leibnitz on 16 March 1703, when he was in Hanoverian territory at Zell and about to take ship home to England, he explicitly foresaw a future for himself 'amidst his medals'.¹⁶ The Electress Sophia sweetened his departure by presenting him with the large gold medal that she had had struck to mark her nomination as successor in line to the English throne, which he said that he would 'always keep as the great treasure I have'.¹⁷ He had already written warmly about the courts of Hannover and Berlin in an earlier letter to Leibnitz in which he had remarked that 'Hannover and Berlin have left such impressions upon me, that I can't relish fine buildings without good inhabitants, and tis that, that makes me prefer the Electrice's apartment at Herrnhausen to that they call the Emperours at Munick; and the little hall at Lusenbourg, to the famous one at Ausbourg. In short, I don't believe that I shall like my native England, unless I find a Court from Hannover there'.¹⁸

It was thus as a supporter of the Hanoverian succession that Fountaine returned to England, and it may seem surprising that by October 1703 it was the elderly Tory and Jacobite scholar George Hickes who recruited him to write a treatise on the Anglo-Saxon coinage as part of Hickes's celebrated *Thesaurus of materials for Anglo-Saxon literature and history*.¹⁹ But their personal collaboration seems to have been tenuous, and it is likely that Fountaine became involved essentially because he had time on his hands and was keen on coins. Another factor that may have played its part was that Fountaine was now a protégé of the great connoisseur and collector Thomas Herbert, 8th Earl of Pembroke, who had purchased a major portion of the famous collection of Greek and Roman sculptures known as the Arundel marbles and had already started to put together a coin collection, and Pembroke may have pushed Fountaine towards authorship.²⁰ Lord Pembroke's personal papers do not survive, but he and Fountaine must have come to know each other before Fountaine's Grand Tour, for Fountaine had originally intended to go on south from Rome in 1702 to meet Pembroke at Naples.²¹ This is not the occasion to discuss Fountaine's treatise itself – its plates remain very helpful, but its text is of no great value – and it is enough to say that printing of it was complete, or effectively complete, before the end of 1704.²²

We hear of Fountaine next from the Oxford antiquary Thomas Hearne, who noted on 7 September 1705 that he had been told that 'My Lord Pembroke is already gone into Holland to expostulate with the States, & that Sir Andrew Fountaine is gone along with him'.²³ He noted

¹⁴ C. Jones and G. Holmes (eds), *op.cit.*, pp. 312–13.

¹⁵ It is so stated in the memorandum by Benjamin Ibbot cited above.

¹⁶ Fountaine to Leibnitz, 16 Mar 1703 (Kemble, ed., p. 315, letter 133).

¹⁷ Fountaine to Leibnitz, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Fountaine to Leibnitz, 25 Nov 1701 (Kemble, ed., p. 253, letter 107).

¹⁹ Hickes wrote on 30 October 1703 to the Yorkshire antiquary Ralph Thoresby asking Thoresby on his and Fountaine's behalf to lend his collection of Anglo-Saxon coins so that they could be published in the intended volume (*Letters of eminent men, addressed to Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S., now first published from the originals* (London, 1832), vol. ii, pp. 36–7). It should be noted that although Ralph Thoresby was himself a keen collector of coins, the most significant Anglo-Saxon coins in the collection seem already to have been in his father's possession in 1678, when details of some of them were communicated by Dr Nathaniel Johnston to the Oxford scholar Obadiah Walker for publication in Walker's edition of Sir John Spelman's life of King Alfred.

²⁰ There is no adequate modern study of Thomas Herbert,

8th Earl of Pembroke (c. 1656–1733) as a collector and patron of antiquarian studies. There is no surviving evidence for activity by him as a coin collector before 1700, and it may be that it was Fountaine who persuaded him to start collecting coins, but the loss of Pembroke's own papers makes certainty on this point difficult.

²¹ Moore, p. 94.

²² Fountaine enclosed a proof of the first of the volume's plates in a letter to Leibnitz of Jan 1703/4 (Leibnitz to Fountaine 29 Jan 1703/4, printed in Kemble, ed., p. 333, letter 145). Bishop Nicolson records that Fountaine 'left his Treatise of Coins for me at my lodgings' on 4 November 1704 (C. Jones and G. Holmes, *op.cit.*, p. 219), suggesting that it was then available in printed form, but it appears in its final published version with a title leaf dated 1705. The explanation may be that by 4 November Fountaine's own text and plates had been printed, but that the letter from Hickes to Fountaine dated 30 September 1704, which with its accompanying engraved plate forms the last two leaves of the volume, was still in the press.

²³ *Remarks and collections of Thomas Hearne*, edited by C. E. Doble (Oxford, 1885 onwards), vol. i, p. 42.

on 9 September that Pembroke's journey to Holland had been delayed, but Fountaine was at Oxford at Christmas 1705 and told Hearne then that he had 'lately been in Holland, where he has purchas'd a great number of curious books and coyns, some for himself but most for Lord Pembroke'.²⁴ As it happens, it is just at this time that we have the most extensive surviving description of Fountaine's coin collection, in a diary note by William Nicolson who had visited him at his London lodgings on St Andrew's day, 30 November 1705, and was 'most agreeably entertained by a sight of a most valuable collection of medals and coins, Greek, Roman, Saxon, etc.' (Nicolson's list of what he saw is reproduced below).²⁵ On a second visit two months later, 31 January 1706, Nicolson was shown Fountaine's English coins and medals, and discussed with Fountaine the coinages of Carausius and Allectus, on which Fountaine, like more than one subsequent English numismatist, was proposing to write a monograph that never in fact materialised.²⁶

Fountaine is next glimpsed in January 1707,²⁷ but on 7 February 1707 his father died, bequeathing him his house and estate at Narford, near the town of Castle Acre in the countryside west of Norwich. The elder Fountaine had run into debt at the end of his life, so there can have been little actual money to inherit, and residence at Narford in itself can have had little to attract Sir Andrew, who was neither married nor keen on country sports.²⁸ Narford was therefore let to neighbours, and Fountaine took himself off to Ireland, of which Lord Pembroke was appointed Lord Lieutenant in April.²⁹

Fountaine's activities in Ireland in 1707 are not directly documented, but Bishop Nicolson reported in a letter dated 24 January 1708 that 'Sir A. Fountaine accompanied his Lordship there and has brought back above one hundred Saxon pieces, which he had not before'.³⁰ A later diary note of Nicolson's, of 22 March 1709, indirectly confirms this, for at that date Fountaine possessed '370 different sorts of Saxon coins',³¹ whereas in the list of November 1705 he is only credited with 236 Anglo-Saxon silver pence and 10 or 12 copper coins of Northumbria.

For the period between 1709 and Fountaine's departure for a second European tour in 1714 our sources for Fountaine as a numismatist fail us, but we can follow his social life from the writer Jonathan Swift's *Journal to Stella*, in which Fountaine features regularly as a dining and drinking companion of Swift's between October 1710 and April 1713. In February 1713 Swift writes that Fountaine had 'a very bad sore leg, for which he desires to go to France', but he was still in England on 11 May 1714³² and it probably was not until the autumn of 1714 that he left England.

He was in Paris in February 1715 and had reached Turin by August that year.³³ He must then have pressed on to Florence, where he stayed long enough not merely to commission a portrait medal of himself from the Florentine medallist Antonio Francesco Selvi, but to be painted, together with 'the gentlemen who travelled with him', in an impressive conversation piece by the artist Giulio Pignatta set in the Tribuna of the Uffizi.³⁴ This painting, as well as providing the best contemporary evidence for the appearance of the Tribuna itself, reveals that

²⁴ Doble, i, p. 139.

²⁵ C. Jones and G. Holmes, *op.cit.*, pp. 312–13.

²⁶ C. Jones and G. Holmes, *op.cit.*, p. 368. Fountaine's intention to write 'a dissertation in Latin upon Carausius and Allectus' is referred to by Hearne (Doble, *op.cit.*, i, p. 139).

²⁷ George Hickes wrote to the Tory politician and future minister Robert Harley on 1 Jan 1706/7 requesting permission to bring Fountaine to wait upon him, describing Fountaine as 'in all respects a very worthy gentleman' (*HMC Portland IV*, p. 376).

²⁸ Moore, p. 48, quotes a letter of 4 April 1748 in which Fountaine states that 'I am no sportsman'.

²⁹ Thomas Hearne was aware by 28 April 1707 that Lord Pembroke had appointed Fountaine to the post of Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod in Ireland (Doble, *op.cit.*, ii, p. 9).

³⁰ C. Jones and G. Holmes, *op.cit.*, pp. 312–13.

³¹ C. Jones and G. Holmes, *op.cit.*, p. 488.

³² Ralph Thoresby visited Fountaine at Fountaine's house in St James's on that day, *The diary of Ralph Thoresby*, edited by J. Hunter (1830), vol ii, p. 209.

³³ Ford, p. 355.

³⁴ For the painting by Pignatta, still at Narford, see Moore pp. 95–6 and Ford pp. 355–6.

Fontaine was then accompanied by Lord Pembroke's nineteen year old stepson, Hon. Richard Arundell,³⁵ by another young aristocrat of the same age, Hon. Anthony Lowther,³⁶ and by William Price, a more shadowy young man who was eventually to marry Fontaine's niece and heiress. By February 1716 Fontaine was in Rome, where he spent the early spring, leaving in April for Venice.³⁷ He was still at Venice with Arundell and Lowther on 25 September 1716, intending to set out on the following day for Germany.³⁸

Evidence for acquisitions of coins and antiquities by Fontaine on his second tour is sketchy, but obviously a year in Italy in 1715–16 would have given him the opportunity to add substantially to his and Lord Pembroke's holdings in the Roman republican and imperial series. By this time Fontaine was collecting books, engravings, miniatures, and maiolica as well as coins and medals, and like many ardent collectors before and since, he possessed the charm and knowledge to negotiate as an equal with European dealers. In Rome, despite the relative shortness of his stays there in 1702 and 1716, he got on particularly well with the famous dealer Francesco Ficoroni, and an anecdote records that on a particular occasion Ficoroni, who had been commissioned by an elderly abbot to find a purchaser for an inherited collection of coins and medals, 'brought him Sir Andrew Fontaine, who, he had before acquainted him, was a young English cavalliero on his travels, who knew nothing of medals himself, but had a mind to shew away, like other raw young fellows of fame and fortune, when he came home, with a little bad vertu. This did very well; but Ficoroni and Sir Andrew (who was one of the keenest virtuosi in Europe and out-Italianed the Italians themselves) had agreed, before they went, to pick out all the rare and valuable ones, which the Abbot was to let him have for low prices, as being in a manner trash, for so Ficoroni was to wink at him; by which means they plundered the poor ecclesiastick, while he was hugging himself on his and his friend's duping the young English cully. When they were once down, and got out of the convent, Sir Andrew embraced Ficoroni, and said to him, as Augustus and Licinius might have done, 'Noi siamo due becchi fututi'. The English source for this anecdote translates the last phrase as 'We are a pair of precious dogs'.³⁹

On Fontaine's return to England he settled for the first time on his Norfolk estate, commissioning the London builder and architect Roger Morris to add a library wing to the house at Narford.⁴⁰ The building work at Narford, although 'done with economy', proved to be more expensive than Fontaine could afford, and although the chronology of the building work and of Fontaine's financial problems is uncertain, the only solution was for Fontaine to find a buyer, or buyers, for his coin collection.⁴¹

Fontaine still owned the collection in September 1720, when the scholar Humfrey Wanley spent three days working through its Roman portion, inspecting 'the Great Brass' on 3 September, 'the Middle Brass' on 6 September, and part of the 'Consular & Imperial silver coins' on 7 September.⁴² It is not clear how soon after that he parted with the coins, but in a later eighteenth century memorandum by Benjamin Ibbot which provides a summary of the

³⁵ For Arundell (c. 1696–1758) see R.R. Sedgwick, *The History of Parliament, The House of Commons 1715–1754* (1970) vol. I, p. 421.

³⁶ For Lowther (after 1694–1741) see R.R. Sedgwick, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 226.

³⁷ Ford, p. 357.

³⁸ Ford, p. 357.

³⁹ J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, ix (1815), p. 603.

⁴⁰ Thus the Ibbot memorandum, where the building work is credited in Robinson's printed version to 'Mr Roger Harris, an ingenious bricklayer, who had been foreman at the works of Grosvenor and Hanover Squares', and is dated to 1718. Harris is an obvious misreading for Morris.

⁴¹ Morris's building works at Narford may have extended into the 1720s, for it seems likely that in addition to his work on the house he designed the garden temple there (it is of similar character to designs featured in publications by Roger Morris's kinsman Robert Morris: see N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North-West and South Norfolk* (1962), p. 266, note, based on information supplied to Pevsner by John Harris). It may also be noted that Roger Morris's second son, born in 1723, was christened 'Andrew', by no means a usual Christian name outside Scotland at that date: was Sir Andrew Fontaine his godfather?

⁴² *The diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715–1726*, edited by C.E. and R.C. Wright (1966), vol. I, pp. 67–8.

main events of Fountaine's life, it is stated that Fountaine, 'having a good opportunity to dispose of the collection', 'his great friend, Earl Thomas' – that is to say, Lord Pembroke – 'had the picking or culling of what he chose or wanted'.⁴³ I take this to mean that when a buyer or buyers for the collection had been found, but before the sale went through, Pembroke took the opportunity to select any coins that he particularly needed to fill gaps in his collection. It does not however follow from this that Pembroke was a major purchaser at this time, especially since it would not have been in Fountaine's financial interest for the best coins in the collection to have been disposed of to Pembroke before the main sale went through.

Who then was the principal buyer? In Ibbot's memorandum the sentence about Lord Pembroke is followed by one that reads as follows: 'The Duke of Devonshire had a great many to add to his, and the Venetian ambassador Cornaro took also a great number. The amount of which came to 8500, as I have heard himself [Fountaine] say'. Scholars have concluded from this and from the sentence about Pembroke that the collection was divided in three between Pembroke, Devonshire and Cornaro, but Pembroke may not have been a major purchaser and British numismatists at least have not realised that Francesco Cornaro, or Corner, had been the Venetian diplomatic representative in London as far back as the years 1705–9, the holder of the post from 1717 to 1728 being in reality Giacinto Fiorelli. By the 1720s Cornaro was living in complete obscurity in Venice, and it seems to me likely that Ibbot has confused two separate transactions, the sale of coins to Cornaro being one of duplicates and dating before Cornaro's recall from London to Venice in May 1709.⁴⁴

William Cavendish, 2nd Duke of Devonshire, thus emerges as the likely purchaser of the majority of Fountaine's collection. The Duke emerged quite suddenly as a significant coin collector with his purchase in or just before 1719 of much of the substantial collection of coins formed by William Sherard, who had been British Consul at Smyrna (the modern Izmir) between 1704 and 1715.⁴⁵ Sherard's collection was especially strong in coins of the Greek world in the Hellenistic period, and Fountaine's collection, very strong in the Roman series and thought by Browne Willis as early as 1716 to be the 'completest' collection of English coins in existence,⁴⁶ would have been a natural complement to it. It is unfortunate that the Duke's papers have disappeared as completely as Lord Pembroke's, but the content of the Devonshire collection as a whole can be established from a later eighteenth century manuscript catalogue still preserved at Chatsworth, as well as from the sale catalogue produced when the collection was sold at Christie's in 1844.⁴⁷ What is more obvious about the collection is the very large number of coins that it contained, which seems to point clearly to it incorporating the bulk of Fountaine's collection. In the Anglo-Saxon series, for example, Lord Pembroke, even after buying whatever he may have wanted from Fountaine, limited himself to just 48 carefully selected coins. The Devonshire collection, by contrast, contained no fewer than 689 Anglo-Saxon and related Viking-age coins, and it is difficult to see how the 2nd Duke could have come anywhere near such a total unless he had acquired all the 370 Anglo-

⁴³ The quotation is from the Ibbot memorandum.

⁴⁴ The career of Francesco Cornaro or Corner (1670–1734), Venetian Ambassador in London from 1705 to 1709, is conveniently summarised in the entry on him in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 29 (1983), pp. 205–6.

⁴⁵ The first volume of N.F. Haym's *Tesoro Britannico*, published in 1719, describes some coins from the Duke of Devonshire's collection, while the second volume, published in the following year, is dedicated to the Duke and is dominated by his coins, with those acquired from Sherard being distinguished by a half-moon symbol beside the illustration of each relevant specimen. As Haym already states on p.x. of the English text of his introduction to the first

volume that the Duke's collection 'is now one of the most conspicuous and numerous of any in England' and that it is his intention that the second volume 'will be almost filled' with coins from it, it can be deduced that the transaction with Sherard had already taken place when he wrote that introduction.

⁴⁶ Willis's opinion to that effect is quoted by Thomas Hearne in a letter to Edward Burton dated 11 August 1716 (Doble, *op.cit.*, v, p. 275).

⁴⁷ The collection was sold as 'A very important collection', without the Devonshire ownership being mentioned, in a two-part sale at Christie's between 18 and 30 March 1844.



BLACKBURN: HALFPENNIES



BLACKBURN: NEW MINT FOR STEPHEN



STEWARTBY: DURHAM

Saxon coins that Fountaine had possessed in 1709, plus any that Fountaine had obtained since. Similarly, where Pembroke possessed around 100 Roman coins of the period Gallienus–Probus, including those of the Gallic Emperors and of Carausius and Allectus, the Devonshire collection contained about 700 such coins, including a particularly good series of coins of Gallienus which was purchased at the 1844 sale for the British Museum and which may well include most of the coins seen in Fountaine's collection by Bishop Nicolson in 1705.

It may indeed be that the 2nd Duke's collection was formed entirely by these two transactions, the first with Sherard and the second with Fountaine, for there is no evidence for him as a buyer of coins otherwise, and his death on 4 June 1729 put a stop to further large transactions. It does not follow that all the coins in the 1844 sale derive from Sherard or Fountaine, for the 4th Duke, who died in 1764, is known to have been a buyer at least of medals, and as with the collection of any great noble family there must have been sporadic additions, particularly in the later eighteenth century when the surviving manuscript catalogue was compiled.⁴⁸ I suggest nonetheless that any Roman coin, Anglo-Saxon coin or English mediaeval coin in the Devonshire collection is more likely to derive from Fountaine's collection than from any other source.

With the sale of his coins Fountaine ceased to play any direct role in the world of coin collecting, but his career was nonetheless to have a numismatic finale. At some point in the first half of the 1720s he obtained an appointment at court as Vice-Chamberlain of the Household to Caroline, Princess of Wales, wife of the future King George II of England. He held his position long enough to attract a spiteful mention from the poet Alexander Pope in the *Dunciad* as 'Annius, crafty seer, with ebon wand, and well-dissembled emerald on his hand, false as his gems and cankered as his coins'; but he fell from favour and was forced in 1727 to exchange his Household post for that of Warden of the Mint.⁴⁹ At this date it was the Master of the Mint, not the Warden, who carried the principal responsibility for the production of the English coinage, and Fountaine left it to deputies to perform most of his duties, but he naturally took an interest in the Mint's records, and for a period after 1737, when the Master of the Mint was his old travelling companion Richard Arundell, Lord Pembroke's stepson, his advice must have been particularly welcome.

Fountaine's ties with Lord Pembroke's family strengthened rather than weakened as time passed, and Lord Pembroke's country house at Wilton became so much of a second home that he and Arundell could on one occasion shock the ladies of the household with impunity by chalking obscene graffiti on Pembroke's classical sculptures. His welcome at Wilton outlasted old Lord Pembroke's death on 22 January 1733, for Fountaine had always been a friend of Pembroke's son Henry Herbert, the new Lord Pembroke, and when Henry died in his turn in January 1750 Fountaine mourned him as 'the oldest and best friend I had in the world'.⁵⁰ Fountaine himself survived three more years, dying on 4 September 1753.

In his memorandum on Fountaine, Benjamin Ibbot follows his account of the dispersal of Fountaine's coins by drawing the conclusion that 'the Pembroke and Devonshire collections were for the most part formed by Sir Andrew'. Although this is not literally correct, for Lord Pembroke made his own decisions about acquisitions and Fountaine was only his adviser or agent, it is essentially true that these two contrasting collections – Lord Pembroke's very

⁴⁸ The 4th Duke is known to have consulted Thomas Hollis about buying some of the Anglo-Saxon coins in the Thoresby collection when that was finally dispersed in a sale of 5–7 March 1764. At least one marked copy of the Thoresby sale catalogue indicates that the dealer Thomas Snelling purchased a number of lots for the Duke but if that was so, it may not be that the coins actually reached the Duke, for his health was failing and he died in the autumn of that year.

⁴⁹ A manuscript note by Horace Walpole begins 'Sir Andrew Fountain . . . was formerly vice-chamberlain to Queen Caroline when Princess of Wales, but disgraced for having'. Unfortunately the words that originally followed 'having' have been cut out of Walpole's surviving manuscript (*The Yale edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, edited by W.S. Lewis, vol. 30, p. 4, n. 15).

⁵⁰ Moore, p. 112.

carefully selected, with an unsurpassed series of aurei of every Roman emperor then obtainable, and with some astonishing individual rarities in other fields, and the Duke of Devonshire's vast and comprehensive – resulted from Fountaine's knowledge and expertise, and it is valuable to recognise that in an age when numismatic publication was still haphazard, an intelligent collector like Fountaine was likely to acquire much more knowledge about coins than was possessed by most academic scholars. Although both collections were dispersed in the nineteenth century, Devonshire's in 1844 and Pembroke's in 1848, many of the coins from them can still be traced and they are in a real sense Fountaine's legacy to us.⁵¹

One may conclude by mentioning the obverse of a portrait medal of Fountaine by the Swiss engraver Jacques-Antoine Dassier, dated 1744 and with the inscription which forms the title of this paper, equating Fountaine's actual position as one of the three principal officers of the London mint to the position that he might have held at the mint of Rome under the Roman Republic or Principate, and exemplifying his unique position in the world of numismatics in the opening years of the eighteenth century.

William Nicolson's List of the 'Chief Remarkables' in Sir Andrew Fountaine's Collection, 30 November 1705

1. Ten nummi restituti of Gallienus.
2. Thirty-two of the said Emperour; with Reverses of different Birds or Beasts, or in different postures.
3. Nineteen Legions, and Twenty-six divinities, of the same.
[All or most of these he had from one person in Bishop-Gate-Street: the same, I suppose, whom my Lord Pembroke mentioned to me last winter]
4. Three Salonina's, with three several Veneres (Venus Victrix, Faelix and Genetrix) on the reverse.
5. The XXXa Ulpia Legio of Galienus; a Duplicate of which (very Rare) he gave to Lord Pembroke.
6. Another Galienus with Vict.aet.s.p. on the Reverse: in one of the samples whereof (for he has three of em; all somewhat differing) the p is put twixt e and t: which occasioned Monsieur Vaillant's reading it Nept. as if the Medal had been struck in Memory of some Sea-Victory.
7. Pescenius Niger.
8. Julia Mameias Aug.
9. Caracalla; with a Julia Augusta on the R.
10. Caracalla and Severus. [Capita Juguta]
11. Theodebertus Francorum R in Gold. small.
12. Patin's Kaisar Sebastos (in brass) and three more cost him about 80 11. He also bought up the whole collection of the said Patin at Padua.
13. A Roman Head in Gold, set in a Ring, the Convex side being out; under which the Concave, of the same face, makes an Impression fairer than the Prototype.
14. A coin of Attila, King of the Hunns, in Gold.
15. Two Hundred and Thirty-Six Saxon coins in Silver with Ten or Twelve of the Northymbrians in brass. [He gives 2s 6d for each piece of Saxon; which brings him in the Monopoly.]

⁵¹ The Pembroke collection was sold in a Christie's sale of additions to the collection since the 8th Earl's death. 31 July–19 August 1848. There had been no significant

16. A Series of the Roman Coins de aere minimo (called also Sextula), which convinced me that Dr Smith's Carausius and Allectus are of this class; and not (as he would have em) de aere modico.
17. Thomas Simon's Tryal-Piece of Charles the Second's Crown; with his petition round the Rim.
18. Henry the 7th's Shilling; the full weight of three of his Groats [The Archbishop of York has a Couple of these].
19. Half-Crown, Shilling and Six-Pence, of the Common-Wealth of England, finely milled, by Simon, who sets round the Edge of the Half-Crown, In the Third Year of Freedom by Gods blessing restored [The remembrance of this threw him out of King Charles the Second's favour].
20. A XXs Xs and Crown-pieces of Charles I struck at Oxford 1642.
21. A Three-Shillings piece of the Carlile – coin (in the Siege 1645) very fair.
22. King Philip's Coin after the death of Queen Mary, with Phil.R.Ang.Fr.Neap.P., and, on the Reverse Fidei Defensor in a Laurel. One Shilling, value.
23. Half-Crown of the same (with the Arms of England) after the Queen's Death.
24. Queen Elizabeth's Scutu Fidei in Gold; as fairly milled as her Shillings and Sixpences.
25. A true Nero; with a Counterfeit Adlocutio carved on the Reverse.

Sir Andrew also shewed us a lovely Wolf (with Romulus and Remus) which he had, cast in Brass, from Mr Wrenn; Monsieur Molinet's Cabinet de la Bibliotheque de Sainte Genevieve, richly stocked with antiquities, particularly a draught of the Dipondiu, which Sir Andrew himself lately transferred (with many more choice rarities) from his own Cabinet to Lord Pembroke; &. He gave us a pleasant account of the Italian plowmen imposeing on Travellers, by pretending to find Medals just as come up to em; and of Dr Battely's Labienus (with Cingulum on the reverse) being only a Copy of a Counterfeit.

SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

TWO NEW HALFPENNIES OF EDWARD THE ELDER AND ATHELSTAN

M.A.S. BLACKBURN

HALFPENNIES of the tenth century must have been produced on a small scale, for they remain rare even among the prolific metal-detector finds, which generally favour the smaller denominations. This note publishes two new finds that have been acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum – an unrecorded type of Edward the Elder (899–924) and the first known halfpenny of Athelstan (924–39).¹

Edward the Elder, Hand type

The first piece is of Edward the Elder's *Hand of God* type (pl. 12, 1). Some sixteen pennies of this issue are known by six moneyers (Alhstan, Athulf, Deormod, Eadred, Fugel and Gunne), who form a group distinct from the moneyers of the other 'Exceptional' types of Edward the Elder. The type emanates from a mint or mints in West Mercia, perhaps Shrewsbury, and Lyon dates it to the middle of the reign, c. 910–15.² The design of the divine hand takes a variety of forms: a 'mailed' hand, an 'open' hand pointing down or up, a hand in benediction, etc. A penny of the 'Mailed' Hand variety in Mr Lyon's collection is illustrated here (pl. 12, 2). The reverse inscription on the pennies usually gives the moneyer's name and an abbreviation of *moneta* in two or more lines either side of the hand. On one die of Deormod the name is preceded by the letters DX,³ which so far as I am aware have never been commented upon. There is a fair degree of die-linking among the Hand pennies, fifteen of them being struck from seven obverse and ten reverse dies, which suggests that the issue was not very extensive.

The new halfpenny was found in 1993 on a ploughed field near Clare, Suffolk, by Mr Peter Carter using a metal-detector. Unfortunately, the silver was highly mineralised, and as the soil was removed the coin fell

into three pieces, breaking along the lines of two ancient bends, for it had been almost curled up in the Anglo-Saxon period. The pieces have since been stuck together in a more open form, so that the design can be seen, although in consequence they do not make close fitting joints.

The coin can be described as follows:

Edward the Elder, silver halfpenny, 'Mailed' Hand type (North⁴ 664/3, this specimen), c. 910–15. West Mercian mint, moneyer Hrodberht.

Obv. +EADVVEARD REX, small cross (saltire-wise)

Rev. DEX $\overline{\text{TE}}$ / H^oR DB / ERHT, nimbate ('mailed') hand downwards, with three parallel lines to the left of it and two to the right, the triangular cuff decorated with two rows of crescents.

Weight: 0.54g (8.04gr.), chipped, broken and metal leached. Die-axis: 90°.

There are several interesting features to this coin. The moneyer is clearly Hrodberht, and the 'o' (a small letter typical of this West Mercian style) was probably placed above the letters HR because there was insufficient room after them. Hrodberht was not previously known from coins of the Hand issue, or indeed from any of the 'Exceptional' types, but there is one coin of 'Rodberht' in the British Museum of the Horizontal type (HT1) in a style that Lyon has classified as West Mercian from late in Edward's reign.⁵ His appearance, then, in this issue is not surprising. From subsequent reigns there seem to be two moneyers of this name recorded, one operating in the north-east under Athelstan (BC type) and Anlaf Sitricsson (HT1 type), and another in West Mercia under Eadred (946–55; HR1 type).⁶ It is doubtful whether either is Edward the Elder's West Mercian moneyer.

The word DEXTE in the first line of the reverse, preceding the moneyer's name, is evidently a

¹ Fitzwilliam Museum nos CM.299–1993 and CM.730–1992, respectively. I am grateful to Andrew Morris and Andrew Norman for photographing them.

² C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart, and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989) [hereafter 'CTCE'], pp. 38–9, 42, 79–81.

³ BMC Edward the Elder no. 108.

⁴ J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage I*, 3rd edition (London, 1994), p. 129, and pl. 11, no. 11.

⁵ CTCE, p. 69, no. 256.

⁶ CTCE, p. 143, no. 170; p. 229, gp. III (g); p. 306. There is also a coin of Edmund (HT1 type) in a style that is unlocated.

contraction or abbreviation of the Latin *dextra*, meaning 'hand' or 'right hand'. However, the precise form on the coin requires explanation. As Michael Lapidge has pointed out,⁷ if the \bar{T} (with a suspension mark above it) appeared in a manuscript it would stand for *ter*; in which case DEXT \bar{T} E should be expanded *dextere*. This is the genitive ('of the hand [of God]'), but surely the nominative (*dextera*) is more likely to have been intended. It may be that the die-cutter was a poor Latinist and made a mistake in giving it an ending -E rather than -A. Alternatively, the bar above the letters TE may in fact be a mark of abbreviation, as it is when used elsewhere on Edward the Elder's coinage above the letters MO, MON or MONE, standing for *moneta*.⁸

The occurrence of a West Mercian coin as a find in East Anglia is surprising, for the currency in this period had a distinctive regional character, and a pictorial issue such as this cannot have been familiar in eastern England. Five other official halfpennies of Edward the Elder are recorded, all of the Horizontal type, by the moneyers Biornwald, Ciolulf, Leofhelm, Wyneman?, and Wynberht. The fact that these are in various styles (Winchester, London, and West Mercian) and from different periods in Edward's reign suggests that they were a general issue and produced in larger numbers than the surviving specimens would imply. Although this is the first official halfpenny of the 'Exceptional' types, an irregular halfpenny of Edward's Floral type was acquired by Stewart Lyon, together with two pennies, also irregular, of similar type.⁹ This suggests that official halfpennies of the Floral type were also issued.

Athelstan, Horizontal type

The second halfpenny (pl. 12, 3) is the only coin of this denomination to be recorded for Athelstan. It was found in 1990 near Stowting, Kent, some ten miles south of Canterbury,¹⁰ and purchased by Spink and Son Ltd. In 1992 it was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum in an officially sanctioned exchange for six duplicate Anglo-Saxon coins from the collection of C.E. Blunt,¹¹ and it now resides among his outstanding series of Athelstan's coins. The piece may be described as follows:

Athelstan, silver halfpenny, Horizontal or Two-line type, HP6 (Blunt *Athelstan*¹²; North 668/1, this specimen). Uncertain southern mint, moneyer Clip. *Obv.* +EDELSTAN REX (NR ligatured), small saltire-cross. *Rev.* • / CLIP: • / • • • / MO - / • (the O lozenge-

shaped)

Weight: 0.63g (9.7gr.), chipped. Die-axis: 220°.

The moneyer Clip was not previously known for Athelstan or subsequent kings, but several of his coins for Edward the Elder survive. They are in a die-cutting style attributed to Wessex, probably Winchester, and belong to the Middle II and Late I phases of Edward's coinage as defined by Lyon.¹³ A specimen in the Blunt collection is illustrated here (pl. 12, 4).

The lettering on the halfpenny, however, is of a style associated with the die-cutter at Canterbury,¹⁴ as shown particularly by the form of the A, M, and S, the alignment of the central cross on the obverse (saltire-wise), and the minutely seriated contraction mark on the reverse (cf. Blunt 19, moneyer Alfeau). The association of the halfpenny with this die-cutting style is confirmed by the unusual use of an NR ligature in the obverse legend. This ligature is extremely rare, but it is to be found on some coins of Burhehem (*SCBI* BM v 12), Folcred (Blunt 55), and Wealdhelm (*SCBI* Edinburgh 140 = *CTCE* pl. 3.25) all of Canterbury style; indeed Folcred is a Kentish (Dover) moneyer. Two features of the design are quite foreign to Athelstan's coinage and hark back to that of Alfred. First, the lozenge-shaped O, with wedges at the corners, is characteristic of dies cut at Canterbury under Alfred, but is not found on coins of Edward the Elder or Athelstan. Secondly, the arrangement of three pellets across the centre of the reverse and one at top and bottom (class HP6) is only found on dies of Alfred and the very earliest ones of Edward, and again it is typical of the Canterbury style at that time. Evidently the Canterbury engraver when producing dies for the halfpenny in the mid 920s chose to model the reverse on coins struck at Canterbury some 30 years earlier. The archaic nature of many of the designs used for halfpence in the third quarter of the tenth century has also been noted,¹⁵ their types often harking back to those of Alfred or Edward the Elder. Why this should be is something of a mystery, although it may imply that they were not a regular element in the monetary system, a view supported by their great rarity. Clip was not alone in drawing dies from two different die-cutting centres, Winchester and Canterbury. In other cases it has been seen as evidence that the moneyer was perhaps operating at some intermediate mint, although only occasionally can it be identified, e.g. for the moneyer Iohann who subsequently struck mint-signed coins of Chichester.¹⁶

⁷ In personal correspondence; I am grateful to Professor Lapidge for his advice on the inscription.

⁸ Cf. *CTCE* pls. 1–6. *passim*, esp. pl. 6, nos 1, 4, 5–8, 10.

⁹ The three coins were purchased in 1990 by Spink as a group from a representative of an anonymous French collector, but the circumstances of their discovery are unknown. I am grateful to Mr Lyon for allowing me to mention these. His collection is on deposit at the Fitzwilliam Museum.

¹⁰ For information about the findspot, I am grateful to Derek Chick who met the finder.

¹¹ Details of the exchange are given in the Fitzwilliam

Museum's *Annual Report* 1992, p. 28.

¹² C.E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Athelstan, 924–939', *BNJ* 42 (special vol., 1974), pp. 35–160.

¹³ *CTCE* p. 63, nos 131–3.

¹⁴ *CTCE*, pp. 49–51 defines the Canterbury die-cutting styles under Edward, the last of which (series 3) continues into Athelstan's reign.

¹⁵ *CTCE*, pp. 203–4; M.M. Archibald in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966–1066*, edited by J. Backhouse *et al.* (London, 1984), p. 176.

¹⁶ *CTCE*, pp. 50–1.

A NEW TYPE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR FOR THE 'NEWPORT' MINT

M.A.S. BLACKBURN, M.J. BONSER, AND W.J. CONTE

TWO specimens of Edward the Confessor's *Expanding Cross* type with the mint-signature NIPEPOR ('Newport') have recently come to light. They increase the number of known coins of the mint in the eleventh century from five to seven, extend its activity back to the earlier, Light phase of the Expanding Cross issue,¹ and provide a new moneyer, Siwar, for the mint. These two coins (pl. 21, 1–2) are:

1. Expanding Cross type, Light issue.
Obv. +EDPA.: / RD RE
Rev. +SIPAR ON NIPEPOR, pellet in 1st and 4th heraldic quarter.
Wt 1.09g (16.8gr.), pierced. Die-axis 180°. Diam. 18 mm.
W.J. Conte collection; bt Baldwins 1991; no previous provenance, but peck marks and bending suggests that it is a find from Scandinavia or the southern or eastern Baltic.
2. Expanding Cross type, Light issue?
Obv. +EDPA.: / RD RE
Rev. +SIPAR[]IPEPOR, pellet in 1st and 4th heraldic quarter.
Struck from the same reverse die as no. 1, but from a different obverse.
Wt 0.85g (13.1 gr.), fragment missing. Die-axis 0°. Diam. 18 mm.
Found near Bury St Edmunds, 1993 (findspot recorded confidentially).

The five coins of 'Newport' previously known, as noted by Freeman,² can be listed as follows (continuing the numerical sequence from above (pl. 21, 3–7)):

3. Expanding Cross/Pointed Helmet mule, NIPEPORT, moneyer Sired (*SCBI* American collections 601). *Ex* Norweb lot 1255; *ex* Elmore Jones 584; *ex* Lockett 820; *ex* Drabble 532.

4. Pointed Helmet type, NIPEPORTE, moneyer Sired (BMC 1087). British Museum; *ex* Chancton hoard (1866).

5. Pointed Helmet type, NIPEPO, moneyer Sired (BMC 1088). British Museum; *ex* Chancton hoard (1866).

6. Hammer Cross type, NIPEP, moneyer Sæwan; pellet in 1st and 4th heraldic quarters. National Museum of Wales; *ex* Lockett 3818; *ex* Carlyon-Britton 627; *ex* Montagu 147.

7. As last, same dies. British Museum; *ex* Morgan 1915; *ex* Evans; *ex* London ('Walbrook') hoard (1872).

In the table of types, mints, and moneyers in the first edition of North's *English Hammered Coinage* I (1962) a moneyer Siwar is recorded for 'Newport', and Expanding Cross is noted for the mint. This suggests that an Expanding Cross coin of the moneyer Siwar was already known by c. 1960, although it has never been formally published. Unfortunately Jeffrey North cannot now trace the source of his information, although in general he has maintained remarkably full notes to back up the information in *English Hammered Coinage*. The chances are that the coin reported to North in the 1950s or early 1960s was the first of the two specimens we describe here.

The new coins, then, provide a further moneyer, Siwar (*Sigeward*), to add to those of Sired (*Sigeræd*) and Sæwan (*Sæwine*?).³ It is curious that such a short lived mint should have been operated by three successive moneyers, though it may also be noted that

¹ In the tenth century, coins with the mint-signatures NEPE, NIPE and NIPI were struck for Eadwig and NIPANPO for Edgar. They are generally attributed to Newport Pagnall, while Reform issue coins of Edgar and Edward the Martyr reading NIPV and NIEPEN are given to Newark. Notes: C.E. Blunt, B.H.I.H. Stewart, and C.S.S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 259; K. Jonsson, *The New Era: The Reformation of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage* (Stockholm, 1987), pp. 151–2. In Æthelred II's Last Small Cross type and Cnut's Pointed Helmet type coins reading NEPIR and NPOR are attributed to Newark; R.H.M. Dolley, 'The Anglo-Saxon mint at Newark', *NUM* 1956, 215–19. None of these groups need be from the same mint as Edward the Confessor's 'Newport' coins.

² A. Freeman, *The Moneyer and the Mint in the Reign of*

Edward the Confessor 1042–1066 (BAR British Ser. 145; Oxford, 1985), pp. 214–17.

³ The form 'Sæwan' is unusual. Colman, who read the BM specimen wrongly as 'Sæwæn', regarded the fourth letter as an epigraphical error, and normalised the name as *Sæwine*; F. Colman, *Money Talks. Reconstructing Old English* (Berlin and New York, 1992), pp. 158, 301. It has also been normalised as *Sæman*; K. Jonsson and G. van der Meer, 'Mints and moneyers c. 973–1066', *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*, ed. K. Jonsson (Stockholm, 1990), pp. 47–136, at p. 91. In personal correspondence, Dr Colman has discussed various explanations for the form SÆWAN – epigraphic substitution, reduced stress on the vowel, or confusion of final elements. She concludes that there is no very satisfactory solution, and she thinks that *Sæwine* and *Sæman* are both possible, while slightly preferring the former.

the output at 'Newport' may not have been as small as the surviving coins at first imply. The seven coins are struck from six obverse and five reverse dies, which suggests that there are more still to be found. In Expanding Cross at least three obverse dies were used and at least three reverse dies in Pointed Helmet. Evidently, the moneyers had cause to order more than one pair of dies per type. It is worth noting that both the Expanding Cross coins of Siwar and the Hammer Cross coins of Sæwan have pellets in the first and fourth quarters of the reverse. The significance of such symbols, which are found occasionally at other mints,⁴ is not known, but they may reflect in some way the status of the moneyers or the mint. Sigeward is not recorded at any other mint in Edward the Confessor's reign. Sigeræd occurs as a moneyer at Canterbury and London, and since the London moneyer struck the Pointed Helmet type, he may have been the same man as worked at 'Newport'. Sæwine occurs at a number of Edward's mints, but in issues close to Hammer Cross the name is recorded only at Exeter, Wilton, and Northampton. Sæman is not attested in Edward the Confessor's coinage.

The new coins do not really take any further the arguments concerning the identification of the mint. Carlyon-Britton attributed it to Newport Pagnall, essentially because it is the only 'Newport' known to

have enjoyed burghal status in the eleventh century,⁵ and this has been followed tentatively by subsequent writers.⁶ If SÆPAN was Sæwine and the same man as the Northampton moneyer of that name, this would favour Newport Pagnall. An alternative candidate, Newport, Essex, is somewhat closer to Bury St Edmunds, where the second of the new coins was found (45 km, compared with 100 km from Newport Pagnall), but this is not decisive. Both locations have some claim to be considered the mint, as Dr Cyril Hart has kindly pointed out to us.⁷ Newport Pagnall was a Domesday borough, but not a royal one. It was mediatised, and held by the thegn Ulf in the time of Edward the Confessor, which is an argument against it being a mint, as virtually all mints at this time were royal boroughs. Newport (Essex), although not a borough,⁸ was an ancient royal estate, and it had as a berewick the *Aldewerke* of Shelford, Cambridgeshire, which may have been the site of the SCELDFOR mint coins *temp.* Alfred. Although rare, there are other cases of a late-Saxon mint not being a Domesday borough; e.g. Aylesbury, Bucks., Berkeley, Glos., Horndon, Essex, and Petherton, Somerset. Newport (Essex) was also larger than Newport Pagnall, with c. 180 inhabitants against c. 100, and it was growing. Unfortunately, on present evidence there seems no way of determining the location of Edward's NIPEPOR mint conclusively.

⁴ H.A. Parsons, 'Symbols and double names on late Saxon coins', *BNJ* 13 (1917), 1–74, at pp. 51–2.

⁵ P.W.P. Carlyon-Britton, "'Uncertain" Anglo-Saxon mints and some new attributions', *BNJ* 6 (1909), 13–47, at pp. 32–4. John Evans had narrowed the choice to Newport Pagnall or Newport (Cornwall), and preferred the latter; *NC* 1885, 256–8.

⁶ E.g. R.H.M. Dolley, 'Three late Anglo-Saxon notes', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 88–105, at p. 95; Freeman, *The Moneyer and the Mint*, pp. 214–17.

⁷ We are very grateful to Dr Hart for discussing the status of these settlements with us.

⁸ Newport (Essex) was suggested as the site of Edward the Elder's *burh* of *Wigingamere*; J. Haslam, 'The Anglo-Saxon *burh* at *Wigingamere*', *Journal of Landscape History* 10 (1988), 25–36; followed by C. Hart in *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), p. 13 and n. 28. However, both scholars have since withdrawn their attributions.

A NEW MINT FOR STEPHEN – RVCI (ROCHESTER)

M.A.S. BLACKBURN

IN December 1992 Roy Owens, a United States serviceman based at RAF Lakenheath, found a penny of Stephen's type 6 (Profile/Cross-and-Piles) while detecting in a field in the parish of Lakenheath, Suffolk (pl 12, 1).¹ The style of the portrait and lettering is typical of the type, and there can be no doubt that the dies were cut at the official die-cutting centre, which was situated in London. The inscriptions read:

Obv. +STIEFN[]E:

Rev. +RO[]JET-ON-RVCI: (first O uncertain, as only its base visible; small pellet between arms of C).

Of the moneyer's name, only the beginning and end are legible, yet there can be little doubt that it is Rodbert, spelled here probably RODBRET or RODBERET.² The mint-name (RVCI), on the other

¹ I am grateful to Mr Owens for showing me the coin and allowing me to publish it here.

² On coins of type 6 of Castle Rising the same name is spelled variously as RODBERT, RODERET, ROBET, and RODT.

hand, while very clear, is novel and requires explanation.³

Rodbert is a common personal name in this period, and as a moneyer in Stephen's reign it occurs at Bramber (type 7), Bristol (Matilda), Canterbury (types 1, 2, 6, and 7), Castle Rising (types 2 and 6), Gloucester ('Henry'), Hastings (1, 2, 6/7 and 7), London (types 1, 2 and 7), Thetford (types 1 and 7?), Shrewsbury (type 1), and Steyning (types 1 and 7?). Of these, the only mint with a signature beginning with R is Castle Rising, which can be ruled out, for the 30 or so known coins of that mint have *RISINGE* or an abbreviation, *RIS* or *RI*,⁴ and philologically *RVC* cannot be interpreted as a meaningful variant of *Risinge*. Other mints beginning with an R known to have been active under Stephen are Richmond, Yorks (*RI*) in type 1 and Rye (*RIE*) in types 1, 2, 6, and 7. Again, for neither of these mints would *RVC* be an acceptable form.

Looking to the next reign, that of Henry II, there were no mints beginning with R, but in the previous reign, under Henry I, we find mints active at Rochester (types 1, 7, and 10) and Romney (types 11, 13, and 14). Romney, spelled *Romenel* in Domesday Book or *Rumenel* in the 1130 Pipe Roll, on Norman coins takes the form *RVMNE*, *RVME*, *RVM*, or *RVN*, and unless we interpret the C in *RVC* as an error for M it is not a plausible attribution for the new coin of Stephen. Rochester is a possible candidate, however. The normal form of mint-signature for Rochester on late Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins is *ROFEC*, *ROFEC*, *ROFC*, *ROFI*, *ROF*, etc., but the two latest coins, of Henry I's types 7 and 10, read *ROV* and *RVVE* respectively,⁵ and when the mint next appears in the Short Cross coinage of 1205 it is as *ROVE*, *ROV*, etc. These later forms with V are paralleled by that used in the Domesday Book, *Rovecestre*, and the Pipe Rolls for 1130 and 1155, *Rovec*. Had the new Stephen coin read *ROVCI*, there could be no doubting that it was of Rochester. The elision of a vowel is not common in a mint-signature, but it is by no means unparalleled, as one finds, for example, *DRBI* for Derby, *HRFRD* or *HRFI* for Hereford, *GLDF* for Guildford, *MLD* for

Maldon, and *DTF* for Thetford. Seen in this light, *RVC* could be regarded as an acceptable mint-signature for Rochester.

The alternative to Rochester is an otherwise unknown mint. Under Stephen a number of totally new mints sprung up, only to wither rapidly (Bramber, Castle Rising, Dunwich, Hedon, and Richmond). In each of these cases, however, the place was or was to become a borough. If one looks through the list of medieval boroughs for those that begin with R and that lie within the region of east and south-east England where type 6 was struck, there are really no plausible candidates for the *RVC* mint-name, save perhaps for Rockingham, Northants. (*Rochingeham* in the Domesday Book and 1130 Pipe Roll) but its burghal status is not testified until 1307.⁶ It is conceivable that *RVC* represents a place that failed to achieve burghal status, or enjoyed it only briefly leaving no documentary evidence of this. However, Rochester is a much more likely attribution for the *RVC* coin, given that it was an important borough, with ancient minting rights, and it lay within the area that type 6 was struck.

The latest Rochester coins of Henry I (types 7 and 10) are in fact by a moneyer Rodbert, but it is doubtful whether he could be the same man as struck the coin of Stephen type 6 some 40 years later. As mentioned above, the name is a common one, and if one is to associate this man with a known moneyer it is more likely that he is the Canterbury or London moneyer Rodbert. Rochester was a very minor mint in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, and it may even have ceased operation before Henry I's rationalisation of the mints in c. 1125. Many of the mints suppressed then, resumed operation during Stephen's type 1, but not apparently Rochester. Our knowledge of Stephen's later substantive issues (types 2, 6 and 7) is weak, and evidence may yet come to light to show that it struck several of these on a modest scale. However, it did not survive Henry II's restructuring of the mint system in 1158, and was only called into operation once thereafter, in 1205, to facilitate the general recoinage of light Short Cross coins.

³ The entry in the third edition of J.J. North, *English Hammered Coinage I* (London, 1994), pp. 205, 241 is based on this coin, but the moneyer is given as 'Geo...' in error.

⁴ I am grateful to Miss Marion Archibald for advising me about the form of mint-signatures on the coins from the Wicklow wood hoard.

⁵ Type 7, *SCBI* Stockholm Anglo-Norman 274; and type

10, British Museum, ex Lincoln hoard (illus. *Coin Hoards I* (1975), fig. 19.8; Miss Archibald has confirmed the reading).

⁶ M. Beresford and H.P.R. Finburg, *English Medieval Boroughs* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 1151s Reigate, Rochester, Rockingham, Romney, Rothwell, and Rye.

THREE DURHAM NOTES

LORD STEWARTBY

1. *Fobund*

Some years ago Mrs Murray and I discovered that we had each, independently, wondered whether the moneyer Fobund, who struck BMC type 1 of Stephen and variants of it at Durham¹ in the 1140s might have been the same man as the Folbold whose

name appears, in many different spellings, on Scottish coins of David I and William I at various mints.²

The Scottish moneyer's known output may be summarized as follows:

	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Mint</i>	<i>Spelling</i>	<i>Reference</i>
a	David	Cross moline	Roxburgh	Folbold	B.24D
b	? ("Nertive")	Crescent and pellet	Roxburgh	Uncertain	Whithorn
c	? "	"	Berwick?	Fol(p?)ol(d?)	Stewartby
d	? "	"	Newcastle?	Fobalt	B28B
e	David	Cross fleury	Berwick	Folpalt	B.1
f	"	"	Berwick	Folpart	Stewartby
g	"	"	Roxburgh	Folpol(d?)	B.21A
h	William	Fleur-de-lis	Roxburgh	Folpold	B.25B,C,D
j	"	Crescent and pellet	Perth	Folpolt	B.30-1

The attribution of coin d to Newcastle, which I offered very tentatively in 1971, may be thought to gain support from the discovery of coin c, from the same obverse die, which appears to be of Berwick, and from a reference supplied to me by the late John Brand a few years later linking Folbold to these two places. In a list of the debts and debtors of the financier William Cade,³ compiled in the 1160s, are two entries naming *Folbold monetarius*, one relating to 'unam lestam lane et est de Berewic in Iodeneis (Lothian) vel in novo castello super tinam in Norhumberland', the other to 'xxiiii. libras in Norhumberland'. It would not be at all surprising to find such a man at Durham as well as at Berwick and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Indeed, I ought to record a suggestion made some years ago by Mrs Murray (not then knowing of the Cade reference), which she has kindly allowed me to quote here, that coin d might itself be attributed to Durham, with the reading O:NI'VT interpreted not as *o(n) Nivt* but as *on l(sola) (?) Cut (berti)*.⁴ 'The Scottish type,' she writes, 'would be understandable in the

period 1141-4, when the temporalities of the see were enjoyed by William Comyn, chancellor of King David, whom the latter endeavoured to get elected as bishop of Durham. The temporalities were granted to him by the Empress Matilda, although it was still only by force that he held them.' Either Newcastle or Durham would be an acceptable mint for the crescent-and-pellet coins of this moneyer, and the question cannot be settled with confidence on current evidence.

So far as the name is concerned, this is Continental Germanic (Folcbald, with loss of *k* between consonants)⁵ and its spelling clearly posed problems for English or Scottish die-cutters. It does therefore seem possible that Fobund was yet another attempt to represent an unfamiliar sounding name.

2. *Cristien*

In 1956 I acquired from Spink a Durham coin of the first coinage of Henry II, by the moneyer Cristien, with

¹ R.P. Mack, 'Stephen and the Anarchy 1135-1154', *BNJ* 35 (1966), 38-112, nos 12a and 188; for a fuller discussion see M.R. Allen, 'The Durham Mint before Boldon Book', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, edited by M. Harvey, M. Prestwich and D. Rollason (Woodbridge, forthcoming). W.J. Andrew appears also to have identified Fobund with Folbold: of 'the coins of Durham found at Nottingham' (which are by Fobund), he wrote 'the workmanship and lettering are Scottish and they bear the name of a Scottish moneyer' (*BNJ* 7 (1910), p. 48).

² I. Stewart, 'Scottish Mints', in *Mints, Dies and Currency*,

edited by R.A.G. Carson (1971), pp. 189-202. References in the table, B., are to E. Burns, *The Coinage of Scotland* (1887).

³ H. Jenkinson and M.T. Stead, 'William Cade, a Financier of the Twelfth Century', *EHR* 28 (1913), 209-27, nos 110 (p. 224) and 129 (p. 225).

⁴ A second specimen from this reverse die was in the Prestwich hoard. It appears to be from the same obverse die as coin b, of Roxburgh (I am indebted to Mr Nicholas Holmes for information about this coin, which is from the Whithorn excavations).

⁵ I owe this information to the late Dr Olof von Feilitzen.

a large hole above the crown. When I showed it to F. Elmore Jones his first reaction was anxiety that it was in fact his property. As can now be seen from his sale catalogue, Glendining, 13 April 1983, lot 1135, he possessed a die-duplicate with an almost identical piercing. All Cristien's coins, which are rare, are from the same pair of dies as BMC 250, of which the obverse, with bust C1, is distinctive in lacking the usual lock of hair to the right (pl. 12, 1).

Pierced specimens of this coinage are relatively uncommon. Out of more than 800 in the Elmore Jones collection, only six others were pierced. There is only one pierced coin on the plates of the *British Museum Catalogue*. Both Elmore Jones and I wondered whether the piercing of Cristien's coins might have been connected with his name (which is a rare one and may have been well known locally), for the coins to be used as religious talismans.⁶ Whether or not this was the case, it is certainly most unusual to find two coins of this period from the same pair of dies holed in a similar and distinctive way, and it may well have been that they were pierced on the same occasion, or at least by the same person.⁷ Large holes of this kind were presumably designed to take a ribbon rather than a thread, as later in the case of gold angels of James I and Charles I pierced for use as touchpieces. They seem to be found more in the silver coins of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries than at other periods.

3. Pieres

Two obverse and three reverse dies have been identified for the small issue by the moneyer Pieres at Durham early in class VII of the Short Cross coinage (1217/18). In Allen's study of the Durham mint the obverse dies were labelled DU713 and 716, the reverse dies du 712, 715 and 718.⁸ The five combinations known to Allen, out of a possible six, were also illustrated by Stewart in his paper on classes VI–VII, the plates of which are sometimes easier to use because they were photographed from casts.⁹ The purpose of this note is to place on record the first known coin, a cut halfpenny, from dies DU716/du712, the missing combination (pl. 12, 2). The obverse die is in an early state.

For convenience I append a concordance between the Allen die numbers and the Allen and Stewart plates.

Allen, <i>BNJ</i> 49		Stewart, <i>BNJ</i> 49
Die nos	Plate IX	Plate V
716/712	—	(see <i>BNJ</i> 63 pl. 12)
716/715	104	100
716/718	105	101
713/712	101	104
713/715	102	102
713/718	103	103

⁶ The note to this effect on FEJ's ticket is reflected in the sale catalogue entry for lot 1135.

⁷ In *BMC Henry II* (p. cxxxi), D.F. Allen cites Reginald of Durham as recording that a miracle of St Cuthbert occurred 'to' Christianus, but his part in the story was in fact a discreditable one, which would hardly have contributed to a pious reputation.

⁸ M.R. Allen, 'The Carlisle and Durham Mints in the Short Cross Period', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 42–55. I am grateful to Mr Allen for a number of helpful comments on these notes.

⁹ I. Stewart, 'English Coinage in the Later Years of John and the Minority of Henry III, Part I', *BNJ* 49 (1979), 26–41.

DID EDWARD IV STRIKE COINS IN BURGUNDY?: A ROSE NOBLE IN STONE IN MAASTRICHT

P.W. HAMMOND AND LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

MAASTRICHT, 'the ford of the Meuse', is the most southerly town of the Netherlands. It has an unexpected feature of apparent interest to English historians in one of the old streets running parallel to the river. This street is called the *Muntstraat* (Mint Street or Coin Street); it is not certain why it was given this name, but today it is deceptively appropriate since over the door of one of the houses there is a fairly accurate carving in stone of the obverse of a rose noble (ryal) of Edward IV. It bears the inscription EDUARD DEI GRA REX ANG ET FRAN DNS IBE and depicts the crowned king standing in a round bottomed ship facing forward, sword raised in his right

hand and a shield on his left arm bearing the arms France and England quarterly. On his right, in the stern of the ship, is a square banner with a capital letter meant to be an E but looking more like a reversed B. On the side of the ship is a large five petalled rose. The inscription differs slightly from that of the genuine rose noble which reads EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL ET FRANC DNS IB and the rigging of the carved ship has four strands (as did the half noble) where the original coin has three. These differences may be due to repeated copying but considering the difficulty of working in stone the imitation of the original is quite a good one.



drawing by David Scuffam

It has been stated several times that the coin is there because the house was once a mint and that coins were struck there during Edward's exile in the Low Countries from October 1470 to March 1471.¹ That coins were struck there then is highly unlikely. There is no evidence that there was a mint in Maastricht at this time.² In addition Maastricht is far away from the places Edward stayed during his exile and he could have found far more convenient places to oversee such

an important activity if he had wished or been allowed to strike his own coins on this occasion. Since the right to strike coins within a realm was jealously guarded it is highly unlikely that a ruler so mindful of his sovereign rights as Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, would allow such an activity in any case. Despite occasional comments to the contrary there is absolutely no evidence, in the published Dutch mint records for example, that Charles allowed Edward to use Burgundian mints or even struck English coins for Edward.³

The hypothesis that English coins were struck in Burgundy has been backed up by the existence of several specimens first described by Walters.⁴ These are groats, with one half groat, of somewhat crude design with several abnormal features in the inscriptions (FRANCVS or FRANCV on the obverse for example). The most likely conclusion with such coins is that they are forgeries, either English or Continental, a conclusion that Blunt and Whitton came to in their discussion of one of them. These coins do not appear to be associated with the Continent in any way, but large numbers of official and unofficial copies of English coins did circulate there during the whole of the late middle ages.⁵ There is no doubt that Charles of Burgundy made a grant of 50,000 florins (perhaps equal to £20,000) to Edward at the end of 1470, paid (according to Commynes) in St Andrew's cross florins, that is Burgundian gold coin, not specially struck English coin. Only one *andriesgulden* has been found in England so far and it seems most likely that the grant was actually paid in Burgundian double patards (with perhaps a little gold) since Edward's first need for the money was to hire ships and mercenaries, who would have had to be paid in usable (lower denomination) coin.⁶ Burgundian double patards were legal tender in

¹ See for example John Craig, *The Mint, A History of the London Mint from AD 287 to 1948* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 94. Here reference is made to the *Annual Report of the Mint of Holland, 1908*, i.e. *Muntverslag over het Jaar 1908* (Utrecht, 1909), for a picture of the 'coin'. This report does indeed have a photograph of the stone on its front cover but does not mention it within. For the exile of Edward IV see Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Richard in Holland, 1470-71', *The Ricardian* 6 (1983), 220-8; P.W. Hammond, *The Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury* (Gloucester, 1989), pp. 38-40, 48-55.

² The evidence for the mint at Maastricht is limited and confused for the early middle ages. However the Dukes of Brabant certainly had coins struck in the town from 1204 to 1427 and this was resumed by Philip the Fair, grandson of Charles the Bold, in 1506; see H. Enno Van Gelder, *De Nederlandse Munten* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1980), pp. 201-2. In the fifteenth century houses in the present *Muntstraat* were said to be 'at the old mint' and coins were struck elsewhere in the town.

³ A. Thompson, 'Continental Imitations of the Rose Noble of Edward IV', *BNJ* 25 (1949), 183.

⁴ F.A. Walters, 'The Coinage of the Reign of Edward IV', *NC*, 4th ser. 9 (1909), 185, 218. We would like to thank David Rogers for helpful correspondence on the whole question of these coins and for cautionary remarks on the circulation of Burgundian coins in England.

⁵ C.E. Blunt and C.A. Whitton, 'The Coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI (Restored)', *BNJ* 25 (1949), 135-6; S.E. Rigold, 'The Trail of the Easterlings', *BNJ* 26 (1952), 31-55; N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of the Edwardian Type* (London, 1983). See also Ian Stewart, 'Imitation in later medieval coinage: the influence of Scottish types abroad', in *Studies in Numismatic Method presented to Philip Grierson*, edited by C.N.L. Brooke et al. (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 304-5 for useful comments on the distinction between 'copies', 'adaptions' and 'derivatives' in coins.

⁶ Philippe de Commynes, *Mémoires*, edited by J. Calmette and G. Durville, vol.1 (Paris, 1924), p. 212, '*cinquante mil florins à la croix Saint Andre*'; P. Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496* (Leiden, 1970), p. 105, note 3. The *Chronicle of Flanders*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I Ms. 13073-74, f.269, a well informed contemporary chronicle written at Bruges, says that the grant to Edward IV was 100,000 riders. The rider was also a gold coin, of about the same value as the *andriesgulden* (P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (London, 1988), p. 409), and the grant thus perhaps twice as large as Commynes says. Commynes was quite capable of trying to present Charles as meaner than he actually was.

England since an agreement in 1469 between Edward and Charles and would thus have been acceptable to Edward for payments in England. They may not have been as acceptable to his subjects of course, as the 1469 agreement would hardly have had time to become operative before Edward was forced into exile. Patards are known to have circulated in England in the 1470s although there is no evidence that they did so as early as 1471.⁷ Since it therefore seems unlikely that any coins were struck in Maastricht in 1471 and that Edward IV was supplied with money by Charles and so would have had no need to strike any himself anyway, the 'coin' on the house in Maastricht must have another explanation.

The presence of coins carved in stone on the front of a house is not in fact unusual in the Low Countries. Such pictorial carvings are not common in England, but in the Netherlands they were used universally to distinguish one house from another and they survive *in situ* in great numbers. Signboards which were also used only survive in museums.⁸ Almost every possible human or animal figure or inanimate object was used to illustrate the name of a house. In the seventeenth century people sometimes derived their surnames from them and became known by such curious names as 'in St Andrew' or *preekstoel* (pulpit). In towns frequently visited by English merchants English names were common. In Middelburg in Zeeland for example one could find the 'King of England' and the 'Queen of England', the 'Arms of England', the 'Great Leopard', 'London' and 'Norwich' as well as the 'Noble', the 'Golden Noble' and the 'Old Noble'.⁹ Coins, both local and foreign occurred. Amsterdam had several houses called *Reaal* (ryal), both gold and silver, and at least one *Gouden Nobel* (golden noble). The rose noble is known to have been used in Middelburg and Delft as well as Maastricht and may have appeared elsewhere too. Especially popular was the symbolic 'Last Penny' (*het Laatste Stuivertje*) frequently seen on inns.¹⁰

It could be argued that Maastricht had no obvious connection with England and that there must be a specific historical reason for the appearance of the noble in this particular place, but this is to overlook the popularity of English gold coins in the Low Countries in the later middle ages. This started in 1344 when Edward III first struck his gold nobles in England and Calais. These found their way into Burgundy and were

prized as valuable and safe. The nobles of Henry VI in particular, known as *Henricusnobels*, circulated in the Netherlands in great numbers until well into the seventeenth century.¹¹ Nobles were popular enough to be imitated by Waleran of Ligny in 1415 as well as by Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1384–1404), with his own arms on the shield held by the standing figure on the obverse and his own inscription. This was repeated by Philip's successors as Dukes of Burgundy, John the Fearless (1404–1419) and Philip the Good (1419–1467) but apparently not by Charles the Bold who succeeded Philip the Good.¹²

When Edward IV struck his own new and heavier (and thus more valuable) rose nobles in 1465 they became even more popular on the continent than their predecessors. The rose noble was double the weight of most contemporary gold coins and both artistically and intrinsically of fine quality. These coins of Edward came to be imitated officially and unofficially, the former being distinguished by the names and titles of the issuer (as were the previous official imitations), the latter looking very similar to the originals. We have evidence that such copies were made in the Low Countries from 1525 although it seems probable that examples must have circulated before this.¹³ The existing examples are coarser than the original, the face of the king is larger, he wears a spread crown, his sword is longer and broader and the rose on the side of the ship clearly larger and flatter. In the Maastricht carving the appearance of the rose especially, which is very coarsely modelled, but also the broad four pointed crown, reminiscent of the brim of the hat of the Dutch Carnival Prince rather than the English crown, indicate that it was probably copied from an imitation rose noble and not from an original.

Both genuine and imitation rose nobles continued in use until well into the seventeenth century (the type was struck spasmodically in England until 1606), there is still mention of them in the eighteenth century but by then they had become rare, perhaps collectors items.¹⁴ In the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there is an example struck in Holland in 1589–1591 which has been set in an ornamental ring and has a loop for suspension. The rose noble may have been chosen for the Maastricht carving, possibly carved as late as 1737, because of the attractive rarity of this particular coin.¹⁵

The name of the *Muntstraat* and the presence of the

⁷ P. Spufford, 'Burgundian Double Patards in Late Medieval England', *BNJ* 33 (1965), 111–12, 113–14; Spufford, *Monetary Problems*, pp. 105–6.

⁸ On stones and signboards see J. van Lennep and J. ter Gouw, *De Uithangtekens in verband met Geschiedenis en Volksleven beschouwd*. 2 vols. (The Hague, 1867–68; reprinted 1974).

⁹ We are grateful to Mr P.W. Synke, the town archivist of Middelburg, for information on the subject. See also M. Fokker, *Proeve van eene lijst, bevattende de vroegere namen der huizen in Middelburg* (Uitgave van het Zeeuwsch Genootschap, 1904). It appears that in at least one case the

name of a house in Middelburg was actually changed from the 'Noble' to the 'Rose Noble', apparently to 'update' it.

¹⁰ Van Lennep and ter Gouw, vol. 2, pp. 192–4.

¹¹ Van Gelder, p. 37.

¹² See for example J. Taelman, *Munten en Penningen in Bourgondisch Vlaanderen*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Gruuthuse museum (Bruges, 1982), items 18, 19, 43; Thompson, p. 185; S.E. Rigold, 'The Trail of the Easterlings', p. 53.

¹³ Thompson, 'Continental Imitations of the Rose Noble', pp. 185, 193.

¹⁴ Rigold, 'The Trail of the Easterlings', pp. 53–4.

¹⁵ Van Lennep and ter Gouw, vol. 2, p. 193.

carved coin in this particular place remain intriguing. Coins were certainly struck in Maastricht as early as the Merovingian period, possibly on this spot. This conclusion is supported by a study of street names and the fact that as early in 1290 one Jutta, the widow of the money changer Winandus, lived in this street in a house *supra monetam* (above the mint).¹⁶ It is in fact quite common for the name of a house and its stone carving to preserve the memory of a building or the former use of a site. Since the Dutch word *munt* means both 'mint' as well as 'coin' the owners of the house may at some time have chosen to visualise the name of their street in this way. As noted above the present carving probably does not date from before the eighteenth century, but it may have been copied from earlier versions of the same coin. Certainly the present carving does not look as though it was copied from an actual example of a coin.

The Maastricht stone and houses with such Yorkist names as 'The White Rose' have also been linked to the Yorkist cause and the presence of the Yorkist pretenders Edmund and Richard de la Pole, Earls of Suffolk, with the assumption that they were rallying points of their supporters or otherwise connected with them. It is true that Edmund de la Pole, who left England in August 1501 in search of continental support in his attempt on the English crown, stayed in nearby Aix-la-Chapelle from May 1502 to early 1504, and his brother Richard and some of his supporters lived in Aix, Maastricht and Liège during those years and later, but there is no reason to believe that the names or carvings were the result of their presence. It is of course quite possible that exiles congregated in a place with such an appropriate name as 'The White Rose', particularly if it

was a tavern.¹⁷ The towns in this area were frequently visited by Englishmen, both supporters of the lost Yorkist cause and adherents of the new Tudor dynasty and the red rose. Apparently there were clashes between them, since at the end of December 1503 the town council of Maastricht was compelled to issue a warning that no one, native or stranger, male or female, young or old, was to harass the English living there in word or deed, in particular they were not to call anyone 'white rose' or 'red rose'. The penalty for transgressing these regulations was a pilgrimage to St James of Compostella, or a fine.¹⁸ One can imagine how the local youths may have heckled visitors, or English merchants provoked each other, causing outbursts of xenophobic or partisan violence in streets and taverns. In such a situation it seems unlikely that any house owner would newly name his property so as to potentially cause trouble for himself. In addition the rose, colourless, red, white and gold, bloomed in stone all over the Low Countries as house names.

The rose noble, genuine or forged, was the most popular and impressive coin in the region for more than two centuries. As the French proverb has it

Un noble, s'il n'est à la rose,
Vaut parfois bien peu de chose.¹⁹

and any house owner at any time up to the late eighteenth century could have found the coin an appropriate and attractive decoration. Its appearance on a house need have no more significance than such free choice, and the 'coin' nothing whatever to do directly with England or the English.

¹⁶ We are grateful to Mr Andreas of the Maastricht municipal archives and to the Archivist for information and photocopies of J. Schaepkens van Rimpst, 'Eenige bijzonderheden omtrent straten, pleinen en bewoners van het oude Tricht', *Publications* 43 (1907), 218–21.

¹⁷ J. Gairdner, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, Rolls Series, vol. 1 (London, 1861), pp. xxxv–lvi and references to the text, particularly p. 224; W.E. Hampton, 'The White Rose under the first Tudors, part 2. Edmund de la Pole', *The Ricardian* 7 (1987), 464–78. The link between the carving and the stay of Yorkist adherents at Liège and Maastricht was first suggested by Baron Prosper

Poswick, 'Le noble à la rose', *Bulletin et chronique de la société le Vieux-Liège* 8 (1971–75), 498–9. Poswick suggested that exiles met at the 'White Rose' tavern in Liège.

¹⁸ The text of the ordinance is in the Rijksarchief, Maastricht, 'Raadverdragen van Maastricht (stad)', 1495 (1502/3), December 30. It is printed in Lambert Parotte, *Réflexions sur la croix engrêlée* (Olne, 1972), p. 22. A similar ordinance was made at Bruges in the same period.

¹⁹ Which may be translated as 'A noble, if it does not have a rose, is worth but little I suppose'. This proverb is found in Poswick, 'Le noble à la rose'.

COIN REGISTER 1993

In recent times we have all been made increasingly aware of the significance of single coin finds, partly because such finds are relevant to the solution of historical problems such as the regional pattern of coin circulation, and partly because of the number of rare types or completely new varieties which come to light in this way. It is desirable that single finds should be recorded promptly, accurately and in an organised manner.

The Coin Register is an annual listing, to which anyone having single finds to report from Britain or Ireland may contribute. Any Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coin will be eligible down to and including the 'Tealby' type of Henry II, but entries for Roman coins and for later medieval and modern coins will be restricted to those coins which are of particular numismatic merit. The essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from excavation sites may be included, if it seems likely that there would otherwise be considerable delay in publication.

The listing of Celtic coins in the Coin Register is carried out in association with the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford. Celtic material should therefore be sent in the first instance to Cathy King c/o the Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PG. Other material should be sent to: E.M. Besly, Department of Archaeology and Numismatics, National Museum of Wales, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NP. Potential contributors should contact either of the editors of *BNJ* with any queries about how to submit and set out material.

B.J.C. and E.M.B.

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Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
CCI	Celtic Coin Index
M/d	Metal detector
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record

Authorities cited

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Geographical Index

Acaster Malbis, North Yorks., 305

Aiskew, North Yorks., 291

Alderton, Suffolk, 172, 220

Alum Chine Beach, Dorset, 215

Amington, Staffs., 228

Asford, near, Kent, 290

Ashby, Hants., 12

Ashford, Kent, 8

Ashill, Norfolk, 288

Ashling, Essex, 126

Bagendon, Gloucs., 108

Banham, Norfolk, 257

Barham, Kent, 173

Bassingbourne, Cambs., 159, 174, 182, 233

Bawsey, Norfolk, 235, 280–1, 283

Beeton, Bucks., 32, 115

Bentley, Suffolk, 147, 181

Bidford on Avon, Warwicks., 28

Bilton in Ainsty, West Yorkshire, 133

Bishop Cannings, Wilts., 222

Blandford, near, Dorset, 261

Blewbury, Oxon., 33

Blythborough, near, Suffolk, 302, 306

Bosham, Hants., 1

Brandon, Suffolk, 224

Braughing, Herts., 42

Bredfield, Suffolk, 138, 213

Brettenham, Norfolk, 17, 71

Bucklandwharf, Bucks., 93

Burgh Castle, Norfolk, 143, 155, 189, 282

Burnham Market, Norfolk, 160, 169, 178–9, 209

Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, 20, 70, 72

Bylaugh, Norfolk, 252

Caister on Sea, Norfolk, 98

Cattistock, Dorset, 116

Chelmondiston, Suffolk, 13

Chelmsford, near, Essex, 14, 50, 166, 191

Chesterton, Warwicks., 113

Chichester, near, West Sussex, 36

Childswickham, Worcs., 109

Cleeve Prior, Worcs., 103, 106

Codford, Wilts., 158

Coltishall, Norfolk, 287

Colton, Norfolk, 289

Cote, Oxon., 37

Cottenham, Suffolk, 76

Dartford, Kent, 58

Dersingham, Norfolk, 18

Didcot, Oxon., 110

Ditchingham, Norfolk, 24

Dorset, 26, 114, 117

Drayton, Hants., 111, 121

Dunstable, Beds., 45, 47

East Anglia, 61

Eastbourne, E. Sussex, 124

East Ilsley, near, Bucks., 34

East Walton, Essex, 253

Eaton Soaken, near, Cambs., 304

Edgefield, Norfolk, 284, 298

Ely, near, Cambs., 10

Essex, 2, 46, 48, 64, 88, 123, 171, 184–6

Essex/Suffolk, 268

Eyke, Suffolk, 176

Faversham, near, Kent, 194

Fenstanton, Cambs., 300

Fingringhoe, Essex, 49, 52–4, 57, 59, 63, 66, 68

Flixton, North Yorkshire, 274

Fordingbridge, near, Hants., 198

Fouldon, Norfolk, 84–5, 203

Framlingham, Norfolk, 81

Gayton, Norfolk, 90, 211, 285, 287

Gravesend, Kent, 175

Great Leys, Essex, 16

Great Mongeham, Kent, 136–7, 139, 161, 165, 183, 195–6, 234, 276

Great Walsingham, Norfolk, 11, 149

Grimston, Norfolk, 275

- Hampshire, 25
 Harlow, Essex, 40–1
 Harwell, Oxon., 102
 Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex, 6, 125
 Headington, Oxon., 51
 Hindringham, Norfolk, 140, 144, 210
 Hitchin, Herts., 154, 156
 Icknield Way, Bucks, 60
 Ipswich, near, 67
 Kempston, Beds., 19
 Kenilworth, Warwicks., 101
 Kent, 9, 30
 Kinwarton, Warwicks, 4
 Lakenheath, Suffolk, 221, 269, 301
 Lamphey, Dyfed (Pemb.), 246
 Lavenham, Suffolk, 127
 Leatherhead, near, Surrey, 130, 131, 193, 197, 223, 259
 Leighton Buzzard, Beds., 45, 47
 Lexden, Essex, 56
 Lincolnshire, 214
 Little Abington, Cambs., 153
 Little Cornard, Suffolk, 204
 Little Mongeham, Kent, 254
 Llantrithyd, South Glamorgan, 272
 London, 241
 London (Billingsgate), 262
 London (Lambeth, Thames), 208
 London (Thames), 226, 240, 244, 249, 264, 270
 London (Thames Exchange), 237–8, 242, 245, 250, 263
 Ludford Magna, Lincs., 95
 Lullingstone, Kent, 7
 Marks Tey, Essex, 5
 Marlow, Bucks., 255
 Merton, Oxon., 44, 112
 Mildenhall, Suffolk, 256, 299
 Monmouth, Gwent, 278
 Much Hadham, Herts., 15, 39, 65
 Mulbarton, Norfolk, 297
 Narborough, Norfolk, 73, 151
 Newbury, Berks., 22, 107
 Norfolk, 3, 83, 163, 271, 307
 North Ferriby, Humberside, 94
 North Lopham, Norfolk, 168
 Norwich, Norfolk, 77, 145
 Ogbourne St George, Wilts., 180, 229–30
 Old Buckenham, Norfolk, 243
 Old Romney, Kent, 157, 294
 Ongar, Essex, 258
 Otterbourne, Hants., 167
 Oxborough, Norfolk, 217, 225
 Oxfordshire, 43, 266, 277
 Paulerspury, near, Northants., 260
 Peterborough, Cambs., 265
 Pitt, Hants., 190, 296
 Princethorpe, Warwicks., 132
 Puckeridge, Herts., 129
 Quiddenden, Norfolk, 201
 Ringwould, Kent, 251
 Rowhedge, Essex, 49, 52–4, 57, 59, 63, 66, 68
 Ryther, North Yorks., 292–3
 Saham Toney, Norfolk, 23, 82
 St Lythans, South Glamorgan, 218
 St Osyth, Essex, 207
 St Yrrup, Notts., 248
 Severn Stoke, Wores., 199–200
 Sheringham, Norfolk, 302
 Shepreth, near, Cambs., 232
 Shotesham, Norfolk, 150
 Shottisham, Suffolk, 146
 Sleaford, Lincs., 96
 Soham, Cambs., 212
 Somerton, Somerset, 122
 South Ockendon, Essex, 29
 South Wirral, Cheshire, 188
 Stonea, Cambs., 78, 128
 Stony Stratford, Bucks., 227
 Streatley, Oxon., 33
 Sudbury, Suffolk, 79
 Suffolk, 62, 80, 273
 Tarrant Hinton, Dorset, 118
 Thelthorpe, Suffolk, 135, 164
 Thetford, Norfolk, 69, 75, 91, 100
 Towton, North Yorks., 134
 Tring, Herts., 219
 Twyford, Hants., 142
 Unknown findspot, 236
 Walsingham, Norfolk, 74
 Wangford, Suffolk, 187
 Wantage, Oxon., 104–5, 110
 Ware, near, Herts., 247
 Wareham, near, Dorset, 202
 Weeting, Norfolk, 205–6
 Wells next the Sea, Norfolk, 89
 Wendover, Bucks., 38
 Wenhaston, Suffolk, 192
 Wereham, Norfolk, 86–7, 99
 Weston, Herts., 239
 West Rudham, Norfolk, 162
 West Walton, Norfolk, 216, 231
 West Winch, Norfolk, 152
 Weybourne, Norfolk, 302
 White Roding, Essex, 21, 27
 Wight, Isle of, 148, 170, 177
 Wimblington, Cambs., 92
 Winchester, near, Hants., 31, 35, 55
 Winsall Down, Hants., 267, 295
 Wormegay, Norfolk, 141
 Wrentham, Norfolk, 279, 286
 Yeovil, Somerset, 119–20
 York, 97

Celtic Coins

1. Gallo-Belgic, quarter stater, class AA2, Mack 2, VA 15-1, Scheers series 8 class IIb (CCI 93.0938).
Weight: 1.84g.
Bosham, Hampshire.

P. de J.
2. Gallo-Belgic, quarter stater, class AB2, Mack 4, VA 20-1, Scheers series 8 class VII (CCI 93.0489).
Weight: 1.70g.
'Mid-Essex'.

M.J.C.
3. Gallo-Belgic, stater, class E, Mack 27, VA 54-1, Scheers series 24 class III (CCI 93.0253).
Weight: 6.13g.
Norfolk.

P. de J.
4. Gallo-Belgic, stater, class E, Mack 27, VA 50ff, Scheers series 24 class I-IV (CCI 93.0288).
Weight: 6.16g.
Kinwarton, Warwickshire.

P.J.W.
5. Gallo-Belgic, stater, class E, Mack 27, VA 50ff, Scheers series 24 class I-IV (CCI 93.0460).
Weight: 6.17g.
Marks Tey, Essex.

P. de J.
6. British, potin, class I, perhaps type L (CCI 93.0627).
Weight: 2.63g.
Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex.

P. de J.
7. British, potin, class II, type P1 (CCI 93.0238).
Weight: 1.58g.
Lullingstone, Kent.

P. de J.
8. British, potin, Thurrock type (CCI 93.0261).
Weight: 3.51g.
Ashford, Kent.

P. de J.
9. British, potin, Thurrock type (CCI 93.0492).
Weight: 3.24g.
'North-east Kent'.

M.J.C.
10. British, stater, class A, Mack 28, VA 200-1 (CCI 93.0162).
Weight: 6.65g.
Ely, near, Cambridgeshire.

R.V.A.
11. British, stater, class A, Mack 28, VA 200-1 (CCI 93.0370).
Weight: 6.32g.
Great Walsingham, Norfolk.

J.A.D.
12. British, stater, class B, Mack 32, VA 1205 (CCI 93.0685).
Weight: 5.97g.
Ashby, Hampshire.

P. de J.
13. British, stater, class F, Mack 47, VA 1458-1 (CCI 93.0285).
Weight: 6.3g.
Chelmondiston, Suffolk.
This coin is particularly notable as the first provenanced example of British F to appear since the discovery of the Clacton hoard in 1898, which contained 15 examples of the type.

P. de J.
14. British, plated stater, class G, Mack 46, VA 1455 (CCI 93.0172).
Weight: 6.19g.
Chelmsford, near, Essex.

M.J.C.
15. British, quarter stater, class G, Mack 35, VA 1460-1 (CCI 93.0940).
Weight: 1.41g.
Much Hadham, Hertfordshire.
This is the first example of this type to be found outside the Clacton hoard of 1898. The obverse is less worn than on the four extant examples from the hoard, and its style provides a good link to the quarter stater below (no. 16).

P. de J.
16. British, quarter stater, similar to stater class G (CCI 93.0210).
Obv. stylized head r., uncertain object dangling from the nose; single ring in front of the head. Surrounding motif of interlacing circles visible below and behind the head.
Rev. horse r., disembodied charioteer represented by pellets above.
Weight: 1.46g.
Great Leys, Essex.
This type is closely linked to the British G stater and quarter stater (nos 14-15 above). At least 13 examples are now recorded; the type is discussed by P. de Jersey, 'A new quarter stater for British G?', *NCirc* 101 (September 1993), 236-237.

P. de J.
17. British, stater, class JA, Mack 49, VA 610-1 (CCI 93.0689).
Weight: 6.19g.
Brettenham, Norfolk.
Both obverse and reverse are in an unusual style; the reverse is probably from the same die as a coin in the Lockett sale (Glendining, 6 June 1955, lot 105).

P. de J.
18. British, stater, class JB, Mack 49a, VA 610-2 (CCI 93.0248).
Weight: 5.64g.
Dersingham, Norfolk.

P. de J.

19. British, stater, class LB, Mack 137, VA 1487-1 (CCI 93.0629).
Weight: 5.50g.
Kempston, Bedfordshire.
P. de J.
20. British, stater, class LB, Mack 141 var., VA 1500-1 var. (CCI 93.0263).
Rev. horse r., winged object above with two rings behind it.
Weight: 5.76g.
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.
P. de J.
21. British, quarter stater, class LX 4, Mack 76a, VA 260-1 (CCI 93.0647).
Weight: 1.17g.
White Roding, Essex.
P. de J.
22. British, core of plated stater, class MB, Mack 62, VA 1526-3 (CCI 93.0150).
Weight: 2.33g.
Newbury, Berkshire.
One of two examples from Newbury.
C.E.K.
23. British, stater, class NA, Mack 403b, VA 620-7 (CCI 93.0369).
Weight: 5.35g.
Saham Toney, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
24. British, quarter stater, class ND, Mack 404, VA 628-1 (CCI 93.0372).
Weight: 1.09g.
Ditchingham, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
25. British ('Atrebatess'), quarter stater, class QC, Mack 71, VA 226-1 (CCI 93.0694).
Weight: 1.26g.
Hampshire.
P. de J.
26. British ('Atrebatess'), quarter stater, class QC, Mack 75 var., VA 246-1 var. (CCI 93.0459).
Weight: 0.97g.
Dorset.
This type, of which eight are now recorded in the CCI, is significantly different to Mack 75/VA 246-1 and should probably be considered as a separate type rather than a variant, though stylistically it is clearly associated with other issues in the British QC series.
P. de J.
27. British ('Atrebatess'), quarter stater, class QC, Mack 63 var., VA 228-1 var. (CCI 93.0475).
Obv. stylized wreathed head, possibly with 'hidden face' below the wreath.
Rev. triple-tailed horse r., reversed S on its side below, snake or similar beast above.
Weight: 1.29g.
P. de J.
28. British, quarter stater, class RB, Mack 68, VA 1010-3 (CCI 93.0290).
Weight: 0.93g.
Bidford on Avon, Warwickshire.
P.J.W.
29. 'Cantii', bronze unit of Dubnovellaunus, VA 167-1 (CCI 93.0466).
Weight: 1.52g.
South Ockendon, Essex.
P. de J.
30. 'Cantii', bronze unit of Vosenos, Mack 299, VA 187-1 (CCI 93.0491).
Rev. [S]A.
Weight: 2.50g.
'North-east Kent'.
M.J.C.
31. 'Atrebatess', silver unit of Tincommius, VA 371-1 (CCI 93.0269).
Rev. TINC.
Weight: 1.28g.
Winchester, near, Hampshire.
P. de J.
32. 'Atrebatess', silver unit of Eppillus, Mack 305, VA 417-1 (CCI 93.0380).
Rev. EPP COM F.
Weight: 1.16g.
Beedon, Buckinghamshire.
P. de J.
33. 'Atrebatess', silver unit of Verica, Mack 115 var., VA 470-3 (CCI 93.0471).
Obv. COMF.
Rev. VIRI.
Weight not available.
Between Blewbury and Streatley, Oxfordshire.
P. de J.
34. 'Atrebatess', silver unit of Verica, Mack 115, VA 470-1 (CCI 93.0478).
Obv. COM. F.
Rev. VIRI.
Weight: 1.34g.
East Ilsley, near, Buckinghamshire.
P. de J.
35. 'Atrebatess', silver unit of Verica, VA 471-1 var. (CCI 93.0268).
Obv. COMF.
Rev. [VI] IR.
Weight: 1.21g.
Winchester, near, Hampshire.
Reverse reads VI IR rather than VI RI.
P. de J.

36. 'Atrebatas', silver unit of Verica, VA 506-1 (CCI 93.0272).
Obv. VERICA REX.
Rev. COMMI F.
 Weight: 1.04g.
 Chichester, near, West Sussex.
 P. de J.
37. 'Atrebatas', silver unit of Verica, VA 506-1 (CCI 93.0362).
Obv. VIRICA REX.
Rev. COMMI F.
 Weight: 1.14g.
 Cote, near Aston, Oxfordshire.
 Note spelling of obverse legend.
 C.E.K.
38. 'Trinovantes', silver unit, class LX 8, Mack 437, VA 1552-1 (CCI 93.0100).
 Weight: 0.74g.
 Wendover, Buckinghamshire, in a field south of Boddington hillfort.
 C.E.K.
39. 'Trinovantes', stater of Addedomaros, Mack 267, VA 1620-1 (CCI 93.0495).
 Weight: 5.44g.
 Much Hadham, Hertfordshire.
 R.W.B.
40. 'Trinovantes', silver unit of Dubnovellaunus in Essex, VA 1663-1 (CCI 93.0208).
Rev. [DVBNOVELL]AVN[OS].
 Weight: 1.06g.
 Harlow, Essex.
 R.W.B.
41. 'Trinovantes', bronze unit of Dubnovellaunus in Essex, class LX 24, Mack 277, VA 1665-1 (CCI 93.0209).
 Weight: 1.50g.
 Harlow, Essex.
 R.W.B.
42. 'Trinovantes', bronze unit, class LX 23, Mack 281, VA 1669-1 (CCI 93.0280).
Rev. legend off flan.
 Weight: 1.83g.
 Braughing, Hertfordshire.
 P. de J.
43. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Tasciovanus, Mack 161, VA 1699-1 (CCI 93.0075).
Obv. legend worn.
Rev. TASCIA.
 Weight: 1.38g.
 Said to have been found in Oxfordshire.
 C.E.K.
44. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Tasciovanus, Mack 179, VA 1713-1 (CCI 93.0353).
Rev. VER.
 M.J.C.
45. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Tasciovanus, Mack 180, VA 1820-1 (CCI 93.0703).
Rev. VI[R].
 Weight: 1.72g.
 Between Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire.
 P. de J.
46. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Rues, Mack 189, VA 1890-1 (CCI 93.0169).
 Weight: 1.83g.
 'North Essex'.
 Legends not visible.
 M.J.C.
47. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Dias, new type (CCI 93.0702).
Obv. plain cross over saltire cross within square, the whole enclosed by a pellet border and an interlaced rope motif.
Rev. boar r., [DI]A[S] below.
 Weight: 1.01g.
 Between Dunstable and Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire.
 The type is listed in Seaby's catalogue as 173A; one example is published in Mossop, lot 302. The CCI has records of five.
 P. de J.
48. 'Catuvellauni', quarter stater of Cunobelin, linear style, Mack 209 var., VA 1927-1 var. (CCI 93.0488).
Obv. CAM.
Rev. CVN.
 Weight: 1.36g.
 'Mid-Essex'.
 Obverse appears to lack the V of CAMV.
 M.J.C.
49. 'Catuvellauni', quarter stater of Cunobelin, wild style, Mack 209, VA 1935-1 (CCI 93.0024).
Obv. [C]AMV.
Rev. CVN.
 Weight: 1.39g.
 Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.
 P. de J.
50. 'Catuvellauni', quarter stater of Cunobelin, plastic A style, Mack 204 var., VA 2015-1 var. (CCI 93.0173).
Obv. CAM[V].
Rev. CVN.
 Weight: 1.35g.
 Chelmsford, near, Essex.
 Triangle of three pellets above horse rather than usual single pellet. From the same dies as the following coin.
 M.J.C.

51. 'Catuvellauni', quarter stater of Cunobelin, plastic A style, Mack 204 var., VA 2015-1 var. (CCI 93.0297).
Obv. [C]AMV.
Rev. CVN.
 Weight: 1.38g.

Said to have been found in Headington, Oxford.

Triangle of three pellets above horse rather than usual single pellet. From the same dies as the preceding coin.

C.E.K.

52. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, Mack 215, VA 2045-1 (CCI 93.0010).

Obv. CAMV.

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.19g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

Note obverse legend of CAMV, not CAMVL.

P. de J.

53. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, Mack 215 var., VA 2045-1 var. (CCI 93.0012).

Obv. CAM VL.

Rev. CVN[O].

Weight: 1.22g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

Note variant position of obverse legend, with CAM in front of face and VL behind.

P. de J.

54. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, Mack 219, VA 2049-1 (CCI 93.0023).

Obv. [C]AM[V].

Rev. CVNO.

Weight: 1.12g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

P. de J.

55. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, Mack 254, VA 2067-1 (CCI 93.0267).

Obv. CVN.

Rev. CVN.

Weight: 0.92g.

Winchester, near, Hampshire.

P. de J.

56. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, Mack 255, VA 1949-1 (CCI 93.0619).

Obv. CVN.

Rev. monogram off flan.

Weight: 1.14g.

Lexden, Essex.

P. de J.

57. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 93.0009).

Obv. plant or stylized corn-ear within circle; CVNOBELINVS around, pellet border.

Rev. male figure r., CAMV.

Weight: 1.2g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

Five examples of this type are now recorded in the CCI: one has been published by D. Symons, 'Celtic Coinage of Britain: some amendments and additions', *NCirc* 98 (March, 1990), 50 no. 63. See also the following coin.

P. de J.

58. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 93.0168).

Obv. CVNOB[ELINVS].

Rev. CAMV.

Weight: 1.06g.

Dartford, Kent, on the A2 extension.

Same type as preceding coin.

R.W.B.

59. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 93.0022).

Obv. CAM in central panel, V above and perhaps L below; the whole within a circle, surrounded by a pellet border and another plain circle.

Rev. uncertain animal, perhaps a dog, l.; CVNO below.

Weight: 1.15g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

One other example of this type is recorded from excavations at Harlow Temple, Essex.

P. de J.

60. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 93.0652).

Obv. bust r., CV[NO] behind and BELINVS in front.

Rev. Victory walking r., TASCIOV[.] around.

Weight: 1.28g.

Icknield Way, Buckinghamshire.

One of seven examples in the CCI; one is published in Mossop, lot 330.

P. de J.

61. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 229, VA 2085-1 (CCI 93.0257).

Obv. CAMVL.

Rev. CVN. The animal is probably a she-wolf, not a horse.

Weight: 2.01g.

East Anglia.

P. de J.

62. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 243, VA 2091-1 (CCI 93.0454).

Obv. legend off flan.

Rev. [TASCIOVANII] F.

Weight: 2.27g.

Suffolk.

P. de J.

63. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 245, VA 1983-1 (CCI 93.0013).

Obv. CVNOB[LI].

Rev. legend not visible.

Weight: 2.54g.

Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.

P. de J.

64. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 248, VA 2097-1 (CCI 93.0170).
Obv. CVNO[BELIN].
Rev. TASCIO.
Weight: 2.53g.
'North Essex'.
M.J.C.
65. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 248, VA 2097-1 (CCI 93.0496).
Obv. CVNOBELIN.
Rev. TASCIO.
Weight: 1.56g.
Much Hadham, Hertfordshire.
R.W.B.
66. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 252, VA 2105-1 (CCI 93.0020).
Obv. legend not visible.
Rev. [CA]MV.
Weight: 2.2g.
Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.
P. de J.
67. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 252, VA 2105-1 (CCI 93.0461).
Obv. CVNO.
Rev. CAMV.
Ipswich, near, Suffolk.
P. de J.
68. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Cunobelin, Mack 260, VA 2109-1 (CCI 93.0014).
Obv. [C]VN[O].
Rev. CAM.
Weight: 2.1g.
Fingringhoe/Rowhedge area, Essex.
P. de J.
69. 'Iceni', silver unit, class LX 10, Bury A (Gregory), Mack 438, VA 80-1 (CCI 93.0498).
Weight: 1.39g.
Thetford, Norfolk.
P. de J.
70. 'Iceni', silver unit, class LX 10, Bury A (Gregory), Mack 438, VA 80-1 (CCI 93.0456).
Weight: 1.40g.
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.
P. de J.
71. 'Iceni', silver unit, class LX 10, Bury A (Gregory), Mack 438, VA 80-1 (CCI 93.0455).
Weight: 1.28g.
Brettenham, Suffolk.
P. de J.
72. 'Iceni', silver unit, class LX 10, Bury A (Gregory), Mack 438, VA 80-1 (CCI 93.0426).
Weight: 1.40g.
Bury St Edmunds, near, Suffolk.
P. de J.
73. 'Iceni', silver unit, class LX 10, Bury A (Gregory), Mack 438, VA 80-1 (CCI 93.0373).
Weight: 1.34g.
Narborough, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
74. 'Iceni', silver unit, Bury B (Gregory) (CCI 93.0429).
Weight: 1.34g.
Walsingham, Norfolk.
P. de J.
75. 'Iceni', silver unit, Bury B (Gregory) (CCI 93.0262).
Weight: 1.43g.
Thetford, Norfolk.
P. de J.
76. 'Iceni', silver unit, Bury C (Gregory) (CCI 93.0427).
Weight: 1.47g.
Cottenham, Suffolk.
P. de J.
77. 'Iceni', silver unit, early face/horse B (Gregory) (CCI 93.0463).
Weight: 0.67g.
Norwich, near, Norfolk.
P. de J.
78. 'Iceni', silver unit, early face/horse C (Gregory) (CCI 93.0688).
Weight: 0.94g.
Stonlea, Cambridgeshire.
P. de J.
79. 'Iceni', plated silver unit, boar/horse B, Mack 408, VA 657-1 (CCI 93.0458).
Weight: 1.28g.
Sudbury, near, Suffolk.
P. de J.
80. 'Iceni', silver unit, boar/horse B, Mack 408, VA 657-1 (CCI 93.0457).
Weight: 0.71g.
Suffolk.
P. de J.
81. 'Iceni', silver unit, boar/horse C, Mack 409, VA 659-3 (CCI 93.0624).
Weight: 0.78g.
Framlingham, Norfolk.
P. de J.
82. 'Iceni', silver unit, boar/horse C, Mack 409, VA 659-1 (CCI 93.0368).
Weight: 0.69g.
Saham Toney, Norfolk.
J.A.D.

83. 'Iceni', silver unit, normal face/horse A, Mack 413, VA 790-1 (CCI 93.0430).
Weight: 1.24g.
Norfolk.
P. de J.
Rev. horse r., pellet between legs and beneath tail; above is a wheel with a tail extending off the flan.
Weight: 0.40g.
Possibly from Thetford, Norfolk.
The reverse recalls some of the early face/horse C types (Gregory, pl. 9.21-23).
84. 'Iceni', bronze core of plated silver unit, normal face/horse B/C, Mack 413d, VA 792-1 (CCI 93.0374).
Weight: 1.41g.
Foulden, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
92. 'Iceni', silver unit, boar/horse new type (CCI 93.0469).
Obv. boar r., on exergual line beneath which are vertical lines; between the legs of the boar is a pellet in a ring of pellets.
Rev. horse r., with open head and pellet for eye, standing on exergual line and decoration similar to obverse; five pellets around a pellet below the horse, four-spoked wheel with simple cross on either side above; decoration continues upwards but is off the flan on this example.
Weight: 0.93g.
Wimblington, Cambridgeshire.
Two very similar coins are recorded in the CCI, including one published in Mossop, lot 80 (fifth coin).
P. de J.
85. 'Iceni', bronze core of plated silver unit, pattern/horse ECE, Mack 424, VA 730-1 (CCI 93.0375).
Rev. legend not visible.
Weight: 1.35g.
Foulden, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
93. 'Corieltavi', bronze core of plated stater, class B (British H), Mack 51, VA 800-6 (CCI 93.0381).
Weight: 5.27g.
Bucklandwharf, Buckinghamshire.
C.E.K.
86. 'Iceni', silver unit, pattern/horse ECE B, Mack 427, VA 762-1 (CCI 93.0242).
Rev. ECE.
Weight: 1.01g.
Wereham, Norfolk.
P. de J.
94. 'Corieltavi', stater, class M, Mack 447, VA 825-1 (CCI 93.0636).
Weight: 4.36g.
North Ferriby, Humberside.
P. de J.
87. 'Iceni', silver unit, pattern/horse ECE B (reversed), Mack 428, VA 766-1 (CCI 93.0243).
Rev. ECE (reversed).
Weight: 0.86g.
Wereham, Norfolk.
P. de J.
95. 'Corieltavi', stater, class O, Mack 449, VA 811 (CCI 93.0250).
Weight: 5.08g.
Ludford Magna, Lincolnshire.
P. de J.
88. 'Iceni', silver unit, pattern/horse ANTED, Mack 419, VA 710-1 (CCI 93.0490).
Rev. legend off flan.
Weight: 0.84g.
'Mid-Essex'.
M.J.C.
96. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class G, Mack 405 var., VA 857-3 var. (CCI 93.0346).
Weight not available.
Sleaford, near, Lincolnshire.
The front left leg of the horse bent backwards from the knee, and the three pellets below the horse's head, are unusual features.
P. de J.
89. 'Iceni', silver unit, pattern/horse ANTED, Mack 420, VA 711-1 (CCI 93.0618).
Rev. ATD monogram.
Weight: 0.87g.
Wells next the Sea, Norfolk.
P. de J.
97. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class I, Mack 451, VA 864-1 (CCI 93.0462).
Weight: 1.45g.
York, North Yorkshire.
P. de J.
90. 'Iceni', silver minim or half-unit, Mack 417a, VA 683-1 (CCI 93.0366).
Weight: 0.43g.
Gayton, Norfolk.
J.A.D.
98. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class U, Mack 410, VA 875-2 (CCI 93.0258).
Weight: 1.35g.
Caister on Sea, Norfolk.
P. de J.
91. 'Iceni', silver half-unit, new type (CCI 93.0616).
Obv. boar r., mostly off lower part of flan; above is a complex group of motifs, including an S-shape with pellets at intervals along the curves and in the centre of each loop, and a motif resembling the rear part of the body and tail of a fish, placed vertically; to the right of this are four horizontal lines with varying numbers of irregularly-spaced pellets extending off the right hand edge of the flan.

99. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class V, Mack 452, VA 877-7 (CCI 93.0244).
Weight: 1.10g.
Wereham, Norfolk.
P. de J.
100. 'Corieltavi', silver half-unit, perhaps class ZA, Mack 455, VA 879-1 (CCI 93.0271).
Weight: 0.47g.
Thetford, Norfolk.
P. de J.
101. 'Dobunni', stater, Mack 395, VA 1052-1 (CCI 93.0289).
Obv. BODVO[C].
Weight: 5.30g.
Kenilworth, Warwickshire.
P.J.W.
102. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A, Mack 376, VA 1020-1 (CCI 93.0355).
Weight: 1.20g.
Harwell, Oxfordshire.
C.E.K.
103. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A, Mack 376, VA 1020-1 (CCI 93.0291).
Weight: 1.01g.
Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire.
P.J.W.
104. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A, Mack 376, VA 1020-1 (CCI 93.0066).
Weight not available.
Wantage, near, Oxfordshire.
Found separately from the following coin.
R.V.A.
105. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class A, Mack 376, VA 1020-1 (CCI 93.0067).
Weight not available.
Wantage, near, Oxfordshire.
Found separately from the preceding coin.
R.V.A.
106. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class B, Mack 378, VA 1042-1 (CCI 93.0293).
Weight: 1.01g.
Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire.
P.J.W.
107. 'Dobunni', silver unit, probably class B, Mack 378, VA 1042-1 (CCI 93.0149).
Weight: 1.14g.
Newbury, Berkshire.
C.E.K.
108. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class C, Mack 378a, VA 1045-1 (CCI 93.0270).
Weight: 0.76g.
Bagendon, near, Gloucestershire.
P. de J.
109. 'Dobunni', silver unit, probably class C, Mack 378a, VA 1045-1 (CCI 93.0287).
Weight: 1.19g.
Childswickham, Worcestershire.
P.J.W.
110. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class D, Mack 379, VA 1049-1 (CCI 93.0588).
Weight: 0.94g.
Between Didcot and Wantage, Oxfordshire.
P. de J.
111. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class F, Mack 382, VA 1078-1 (CCI 93.0240).
Weight: 0.60g.
Drayton, Hampshire.
P. de J.
112. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class I, Mack 383, VA 1135-1 (CCI 93.0354).
Weight: 0.91g.
Merton, Oxfordshire.
C.E.K.
113. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class I, Mack 383, VA 1135-1 (CCI 93.0292).
Weight: 0.62g.
Chesterton, Warwickshire.
P.J.W.
114. 'Dobunni', silver unit, class M, Mack 384a, VA 1175-1 (CCI 93.0414).
Weight: 0.88g.
Dorset.
P. de J.
115. 'Dobunni', silver unit, new type (CCI 93.0207).
Obv. head l., hair formed of triple strands of beaded lines.
Rev. triple-tailed horse r., tail formed of beaded lines; four-spoked wheel with beaded rim in front of horse's chest, connected to junction of neck and head; cogwheel connected to beaded mane above, cogwheel or birdlike head (cf. Dobunnic A) below.
Weight: 0.74g (fragment).
Beedon, Berkshire.
See Coin Register, *BNJ* 60 (1990), pl. 34, 132, for a clearer example.
C.E.K.
116. 'Durotriges', silver stater, Mack 317, VA 1235-1 (CCI 93.0464).
Weight: 5.07g.
Cattistock, Dorset.
P. de J.
117. 'Durotriges', billon stater, Mack 317, VA 1235-1 (CCI 93.0413).
Weight: 4.03g.
Dorset.
P. de J.

118. 'Durotriges', bronze or very base silver stater, Mack 318, VA 1290-1 (CCI 93.0583).
Weight: 3.11g.
Tarrant Hinton, Dorset.

P.J.W.

119. 'Durotriges', bronze stater, Mack 318, VA 1290-1 (CCI 93.0350).
Weight not available.
Yeovil, near, Somerset.

P. de J.

120. 'Durotriges', bronze stater, Mack 318, VA 1290-1 (CCI 93.0351).
Weight not available.
Yeovil, near, Somerset.

P. de J.

121. 'Durotriges', silver quarter stater, Mack 319, VA 1260-1 (CCI 93.0239).
Weight: 0.83g.
Drayton, Hampshire.

P. de J.

122. Quarter stater(?), new type (CCI 93.0345).
Obv. struck with obliterated die, the only features of the design visible being a number of pellets around the (nominally) top edge of the flan.
Rev. reversed S-shape with indecipherable decoration of pellets and arcs to each side.
Weight: 1.03g.
Somerton, Somerset.

This coin, which is markedly cup-shaped, seems to belong to the group of scyphate types published by J. May, 'The earliest gold coinages of the Corieltaui?', *Celtic Coinage: Britain and beyond*, edited by M. Mays (BAR 222, 1992). The scattered provenances of the few recorded examples do not yet allow a firm attribution.

P. de J.

123. Silver unit, new type perhaps of Dubnovellaunus in Essex (CCI 93.0681).
Obv. stylized head r., three sides of rectangular box representing the profile of the nose, the forehead and a line in front of the ear; hair formed of plain lines projecting left and right from two lines extending upwards from the line of the forehead.
Rev. horse l., large pellet in ring of pellets below, circle enclosing ring of small pellets above.
Weight: 1.09g.
Essex.

This coin is very closely related to two bronze coins published in Coin Register, *BNJ* 62 (1992), nos 199-200, and may indicate that they were originally plated, or that varieties exist in both silver and bronze. The style is reminiscent of some issues of Dubnovellaunus in Essex, in particular Mack 281/VA 1669-1 (class LX 23).

P. de J.

124. Silver unit, new type (CCI 93.0682).
Obv. two serpents back to back and head to tail, each with a pellet in its large gaping mouth; diagonal of three pellets from tail to tail. Symmetrical decoration of arcs and rings above and below the serpents.
Rev. horse l., large pellet in ring for eye; pellet in ring above, pellets below. Circle below head linked to junction of head and neck.
Weight: 1.40g.
Eastbourne, East Sussex.

Another example was published in Coin Register, *BNJ* 62 (1992), no. 188, revealing more details of the decoration above the horse; a third example was acquired in February 1993 by the late Mr Ian Finney (Birmingham Museum, FL 658).

P. de J.

125. Silver unit, worn, new type (CCI 93.0626).
Obv. head l., hair formed of large crescents.
Rev. horse r., wheel below.
Weight: 1.03g.
Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex.

P. de J.

126. Silver unit, new type (CCI 93.0628).
Obv. head r., hair formed of at least five triple crescents, two above line of forehead, one behind and two below; eye represented by pellet in ring, lips by two pellets; several other pellet in rings on and around the head, the whole enclosed by a pellet border.
Rev. horse r., large pellet in ring representing head; forelegs divided in two until the knee. Lyre with four chords placed vertically below the horse; various rings and pellets in rings in field.
Weight: 1.16g.
Ashling, Essex.

Perhaps related to southern British silver showing Armorican influence (such as types found at Hayling Island).

P. de J.

127. Silver half-unit, new type (CCI 93.0467).
Obv. triple-headed snakelike monster, a spear projecting from each mouth; pellet in ring ornaments in field.
Rev. horse l., pellet in rings above and below.
Weight: 0.46g.
Lavenham, Suffolk.

Eight examples of this type are now recorded in the CCI; published examples are in the Coin Registers of *BNJ* 60 (1990), nos 141-143 and *BNJ* 61 (1991), no. 75, and in D. Symons, 'Celtic Coinage of Britain: some amendments and additions', *NCirc* (March, 1990), 48 no. 51. An attribution to Dubnovellaunus in Kent now seems unlikely; the type is certainly from north of the Thames.

P. de J.

128. Bronze unit, worn, new type probably of Dubnovellaunus in Kent (CCI 93.0623).
Obv. head l., hair in five or six rolls projecting from forehead and rear of cheek.

Rev. horse, probably Pegasus, r., with ring on shoulder; pellets below tail and below horse's body; beneath the latter a cross-hatched box.

Weight: 1.14g.

Stonea, Cambridgeshire.

Almost certainly to be associated with the coins of Dubnovellaunus in Kent, such as the silver unit VA 165-1.

P. de J.

129. Bronze unit, new type (CCI 93.0683).

Obv. dragonlike beast r., with its head turned back over its shoulder; rings and pellets in rings in field.

Rev. horse r., ridden by very thin figure with long right leg descending below horse.

Weight: 1.65g.

Puckeridge, Hertfordshire.

An example of this type, but on a silver flan, was published in *Coin Register*, *BNJ* 62 (1992), no. 187, with a misinterpretation of the reverse; the type has also been discussed by S. Bean, *Celtic Coin Bulletin* 1 (1991), p. 7. The style of the horse, in particular, links this production to Evans G12, previously thought to be Belgic but now recognized as a British production, with over 30 provenances to the north of the Thames.

P. de J.

130. Gallo-Belgic A, quarter stater, class VI, cf. Scheers 249-50.

Obv. left-facing head of Apollo.

Rev. left-facing horse, with a flower design of a pellet surrounded by a ring of pellets, and above the horse a pattern of pellets representing the stylized remains of a charioteer.

Weight not recorded.

Leatherhead, near, Surrey, 1992. Found by Mr T. Pickard. For other coins from this site see list at no. 193.

J.W.

131. Atreates, silver unit, VA 355-1.

Obv. stylized head left.

Rev. reversed 'S' figure below horse, 'E' symbol above horse.

Weight not recorded.

Leatherhead, near, Surrey, 1992. Found by Mr T. Pickard. For other coins from this site see list at no. 193.

J.W.

Roman Coins

132. Constantine II as Caesar, AD 317-37, VOTA PVBLICA issue, mint of Rome.

Obv. [CO]NSTANT[INVS IVN NOB C]. bust, laur. dr. and cuir., seen from front, r.

Rev. VOTA PVBLICA, Anubis standing l., holding sistrum and caduceus.

Weight: 0.68g. Die-axis: 180°.

Princethorpe, Warwicks. Found by Mr J.P. Shields,

October 1993; since acquired by Warwick Museum (N6344).

Obverse as A. Alföldi, *A Festival of Isis in Rome*, Diss. Pannonicae (Budapest, 1937), 36; reverse as Alföldi 35. This appears to be the first published record of a VOTA PVBLICA issue being found in Britain; another (Alföldi 37), in the National Museum of Wales, was found in the 1947-8 excavations at Pound Lane, Caerwent, Gwent (publication forthcoming). (Illustrated x2).

R.F.B.

133. Honorius, gold solidus, Milan, RIC 35c.

Weight: 4.47g. Die-axis: 180°.

Bilton in Ainsty, West Yorkshire, 1993.

(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

134. Honorius, gold solidus, Milan, RIC 35c.

Weight: 4.43g.

Towton, North Yorkshire, October 1992.

(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

Byzantine Coin

135. Maurice Tiberius (582-602), bronze decanum-mium, mint of Catania, Sicily, year 16 (597/8).

Obv. illegible.

Rev. I flanked by [ANNO]XG, with CAT in exergue.

Weight: 1.40g (21.6gr). Edge serrated.

Thelnetham parish, Suffolk. M/d find, site recorded on Suffolk SMR (THE 016).

Although the obverse is illegible, decanum-mia are only known to have been struck at Catania between c. 582 and 606. The regnal year XG (16) on the reverse therefore identifies it as a coin of Maurice. Byzantine coins found in England are often presumed to be modern losses, but there is no reason to think this is not ancient; there is evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity in the general area.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

Merovingian Coin

136. Tremissis, Quentovic, moneyer Dutta.

Obv. + VVICCO FIT. Bust right.

Rev. DVTTA MONET. Cross on steps.

Weight: 1.245g (19.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr L. Hummel, 12 September 1993.

D.H.

Thrymsa

137. Thrymsa, 'two emperors' type.

Obv. bust r., diademed and wearing cuirass.

Rev. stylized figure of victory enfolding the heads of two small busts.

Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr). Die-axis: 90°.
Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr T. Martin, 11
September 1993.

D.H.

Sceattas

138. Sceat, 'Tic', Series A3, *BMC* 2a, North 40, Kent.
Obv. oTIC. Diademed bust to right.
Rev. devolved standard, tufa on top, annulet below,
uncertain letters or motifs at sides.
Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.
Bredfield, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1993. Same site
as no. 213. Precise findspot in Suffolk SMR.

The plugged piercing below the head shows that
this coin had been made into a pendant and had
then been returned to its original monetary
function.

M.M.A./J.N.

139. Sceat, East Saxon type, Series BII, *BMC* 27b,
North 128.
Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.
Great Mongeham, near Deal, Kent. M/d find by Mr B.
Fisher, 12 September 1993.

D.H./D.J.S.

140. Sceat, base, silver plated, Series BII, *BMC* 27b,
North 128.
Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr). Die-axis: 45°.
Hindringham, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

141. Sceat, Series B, *BMC* 27b, North 126.
Weight: 1.11g (17.1gr). Die-axis: 180°.
Wormegay, Norfolk, site 3453. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

142. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, North 161, Kent or
East Anglia?
Obv. [] Japa in runes. Radiate bust to right.
Rev. devolved standard with T T T T around central
pellet-in-circle, a cross on the three visible sides and at
the two visible corners.
Weight: 0.97g (15.0gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).
Twyford, near Winchester, Hants., 1991. Found by Mr
J. Boyce.

G.T.D.

143. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, moneyer Epa.
Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr).
Burgh Castle, Norfolk, site 17261. M/d find, April
1993.

J.A.D.

144. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, North 161, moneyer
Epa.
Weight: 0.93g (14.3gr).
Hindringham, Norfolk, site 25071. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

145. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, North 157, moneyer
Epa.

Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).

Norwich, Greyfriars. In excavation by Norfolk
Archaeological Unit, 1993 (small find no. 1244).

J.A.D.

146. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c, North 168, Lower
Rhineland.

Obv. pseudo-runes. Radiate bust to right.

Rev. pseudo-legend. Cross with a pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.19g (18.3gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Shottisham, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1993. Precise
findspot in Suffolk SMR.

Finds from the site include material from the fifth
century to the period of this sceat but not later.

M.M.A./J.N.

147. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c, North 168, Lower
Rhineland.

Obv. pseudo-runes. Radiate bust to right.

Rev. pseudo-legend. Cross with a pellet in each angle.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Bentley, near Ipswich, Suffolk, 1993. Same site as no.
181. Precise findspot in Suffolk SMR.

M.M.A./J.N.

148. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c, North 168, Lower
Rhineland.

Obv. pseudo-runes. Very devolved radiate head to
right.

Rev. pseudo-legend. Cross with a pellet in each angle.

Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Isle of Wight, no further details, summer 1993. Found
by Mr B. White. Same site as nos 170 and 177 and as
noted in CR 1992, no. 323.

M.M.A.

149. Sceat, 'Continental runic' type, Series D, *BMC*
2c.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr).

Great Walsingham, Norfolk, site 28254. M/d find,
1993.

J.A.D.

150. Sceat, 'Continental runic' type, Series D, *BMC*
2c, variant.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

Shotesham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

151. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c, Frisian.

Weight: 1.12g (18.6gr).

Narborough, Norfolk, M/d find, April 1993.

J.A.D.

152. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 8, North 50.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

West Winch, Norfolk, site 28120. M/d find, September
1993.

J.A.D.

153. Sceat, Series D, BMC 8, North 50, Lower Rhineland.

Obv. devolved standard composed of square with curving sides; inside, around pellet-in-annulet, two bars with pelleted ends, and two bars with only one end with a pellet.

Rev. pelleted cross with three pellets below, all within a circle of large pellets.

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).

Little Abington, Cambs., spring 1993. Found by Mr W. Baillie.

The style of this coin is irregular.

M.M.A.

154. Sceat, Series D, BMC 8, North 50, Lower Rhineland.

Obv. pseudo-legend. Cross with a pellet in each angle.

Rev. devolved standard, central pellet-in-annulet surrounded by three bars with pellet at one end and one angle; tufa at top, annulet at left and bases of crosses (?) at other two sides.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

Hitchin, Herts., spring 1993. Found by Mr Eldridge. Same site as no. 156.

M.M.A.

155. Sceat, Series D, BMC 8, var.

Obv. Degraded 'standard', consisting of a large pelleted annulet in centre, surrounded by four bars, with pellets in three of the angles. Circular border of pellets.

Rev. Cross with a bar to the left and three pellets scattered. Circular border of pellets.

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).

Burgh Castle, Norfolk, site 13227. M/d find, April 1993.

Similar to example from Great Bircham, Norfolk (BNJ 56, 84, no. 93).

J.A.D.

156. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E, Primary phase, Frisia.

Obv. 'porcupine' with HII below.

Rev. devolved VICO type.

Weight: 1.23g (19.0gr).

Hitchin, Herts., spring 1993. Found by Mr Eldridge. Same site as no. 154.

M.M.A.

157. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E, Primary phase, Frisia.

Obv. 'porcupine' with triangle at right.

Rev. standard with I, I, I, V around central annulet, three joined chevrons at one side and three pellets at adjacent side.

Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr). Die-axis: c. 225° (as shown).

Old Romney, Kent, 1992. Found by Mr N. Allen. Same site as no. 294.

M.M.A.

158. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E, Metcalf G, Frisia.

Obv. 'porcupine' to right, x below.

Rev. devolved standard with four Is around central annulet, + at each of the two visible sides.

Weight not recorded.

Codford, Wilts., 1992. Precise findspot on confidential record in Salisbury Museum.

Illustrated by reductions from enlarged photographs.

C.C.

159. Sceat, Series E, Metcalf A, Lower Rhineland.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr). Die-axis: 70°.

Bassingbourne, near, Cambs., September 1993. M/d find, findspot recorded confidentially.

From the same site as nos 174, 182 and 233.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

160. Sceat, Series E, BMC 4.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr).

Burnham Market, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

161. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E, North 48.

Weight: 0.94g (14.5gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Mates, 11 September 1993.

D.H.

162. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).

West Rudham, Norfolk, site 28131. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

163. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E, Frisian.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr).

Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

164. Sceat, Series E, secondary variety, Lower Rhineland or Frisia.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).

Thelnetham, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find, findspot recorded on the Suffolk SMR.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

165. Sceat, 'porcupine', Series E (secondary), North 48.

Weight: 1.14g (17.6gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Machamer, 11 September 1993.

D.H.

166. Sceat, Series F, BMC 24a, North 61.

Obv. pseudo-legend. 'Helmeted' head to right.

Rev. pseudo-legend. Cross on steps with a large annulet by ends of upper limbs.

Weight: 1.19g (18.3gr). Die-axis: c. 270°.

Chelmsford, near, Essex, autumn 1993. Found by Mr Wardell. Same site as no. 191.

Same obverse die as BM 1971-12-16, 72 and 73 *ex* Aston Rowant hoard; same reverse die as NCirc July 1988, 4601. Dr Metcalf has recently proposed (*T&S* pp. 125-32) that this series may be Middle Anglian rather than Continental.

M.M.A.

167. Sceat, Series F, *BMC* 24a, North 61.
Obv. pseudo-legend. 'Helmeted' head to right, a line of three pellets before face.
Rev. pseudo-legend. Cross on steps with a large annulet by ends of upper limbs; no pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr). Die axis: 0°.
 Otterbourne, Hants., 1991. Found by Mr R. Elphinstone.

Same dies as *NCirc* April 1992, 1761.

G.T.D.

168. Sceat, Series F, *BMC* 24b, North 62.
 Weight: 0.99g (15.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 North Lopham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

169. Sceat, Series F, *BMC* 24b, North 62, Continental.
 Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr).
 Burnham Market, Norfolk. M/d find, 1992.

J.A.D.

170. Sceat, Series H, *BMC* 49, North 103, Southampton.
Obv. stylised facing head with cross below, surrounded by seven pellet-in-circles with a pellet between each.
Rev. bird to right, pellet-in-circle above and below head, additional pellets in field.
 Weight: 0.78g (15.1gr). Die-axis: 90°.
 Isle of Wight, summer 1993. Found by Mr B. White.
 For other coins from this site see note at no. 148.

M.M.A.

171. Sceat Series J.
 Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 Mid-Essex, 1993.

Struck on a rather thin and lightweight flan.

M.J.C.

172. Sceat, Series K, *BMC* 32a, North 90.
Obv. diademed bust r., with hand holding cross.
Rev. wolf, well-formed body, with four legs.
 Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr).
 Alderton, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find, findspot recorded on the Suffolk SMR. From the same site as no. 220.

The obverse is too corroded to determine the style of the bust, but the reverse associates it with Metcalf and Walker's group AB. The wolf is similar to that on *BMC* 151, with fore- and hind-legs, but teeth are shown in the jaw and a line of pellets runs over the top of the head.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

173. Sceat, Series K, *BMC* 32a, North 90.
 Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr). Die-axis: 270°.
 Barham, Kent. M/d find by Mr G. Hall, 1993.

D.H.

174. Sceat, Series K?, mule of types 12 and 32a.
Obv. man standing on curved surface (boat?), head right, holding two long crosses.

Rev. wolf-serpent, coiled clockwise, tongue curled down, pelleted serpent outside wolf's body.
 Weight: 1.12g (17.3gr), dark patina, very base. Die-axis: 0°.
 Bassingbourne, near, Cambs., September 1993. M/d find, findspot recorded confidentially.
 From the same site as nos 159, 182 and 233.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

175. Sceat, East Anglia, Series R, cf. *BMC* 3b, North 157.

Obv. epa in well-formed retrograde runes, read inwards. Radiate head to right, A behind.

Rev. standard: TT/II around annulet, tufa above, cross below and an unbarred A at each side.

Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Gravesend, Kent. Shown BM by Mr K.H. Saggars, September 1993.

M.M.A.

176. Sceat, Series R derivative, East Anglia?

Obv. pelleted square with an annulet in the centre and three pellets at each side, surrounded concentrically by a pelleted circle and a pelleted circle with a pellet-in-annulet interrupting it at the four cardinal points.

Rev. devolved standard in the form of a pelleted square with diagonal pelleted cross with one pellet in each angle; tufa above the square, three pellets below and a latin cross at either side, all within a pelleted circle.

Weight: 0.83g (12.8gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Eyke, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992. Precise findspot on Suffolk SMR.

Same types (with minor differences) as CR 1987, no. 92 from East Dean, Sussex.

M.M.A./J.N.

177. Sceat, Series R derivative.

Obv. voided cross moline with a pellet in each angle and at the end of each arm with a plain circle and beaded outer circle.

Rev. double beaded square with beaded cross diagonally with three pellets in each angle; tufa(?) between two pellets at each side.

Weight: 1.10g (16.9gr). Die-axis: 45° (as shown).

Isle of Wight, summer 1993. Found by Mr B. White. For other coins from this site see note at no. 148.

This coin is from different dies, but is very similar to examples of the type found at Tilbury and Fordwich (shown at the BM; to be published by other students).

M.M.A.

178. Sceat, Series R.

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr).

Burnham Market, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

179. Sceat, Series R, late variety.

Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr).

Burnham Market, Norfolk. M/d find, 1992.

J.A.D.

180. Scaet, Series S, *BMC* 47, North 121, Essex.

Obv. female centaur.

Rev. wolf-whorl.

Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr).

Ogbourne St George, Wilts., 1991. Precise findspot on confidential record in Thamesdown Museum Service, Swindon. Found by Mr L.J. Gibbs. Same site as nos 229 and 230.

(Not illustrated).

T.M.S.

181. Scaet, Series W, *BMC* 54, North 148.

Obv. three-quarter-length facing figure, head right, holding two crosses.

Rev. cross crosslet over plain cross.

Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Bentley, near Ipswich, Suffolk, 1993. Same site as no. 147. Precise findspot in Suffolk SMR.

Same obverse die (and probably reverse die) as the Milton Regis, Kent, and Grimsby, Lincs., examples of this variety listed in the corpus by Blackburn and Bonser (Hill and Metcalf 1984, p. 235) and CR 1992, no. 245.

M.M.A./J.N.

182. Scaet, Series X, *BMC* 31, Barrett var. A.b/A, Danish?, c. 715–30?

Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Bassingbourne, near, Cambs., October 1993. M/d find, findspot recorded confidentially.

From the same site as nos 159, 174 and 233.

David Barrett's classification from his PhD thesis is set out in Metcalf *T&S* 2, p. 279.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

183. Scaet, 'Saroaldo' group, *BMC* 3b, North 44.

Obv. devolved diademed bust to right.

Rev. pseudo legend. Single pelleted square with plain diagonal cross with three pellets in each angle.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr C.L. Clarke, 12 September 1993.

M.M.A./D.H.

184. Scaet, Series D, type 2c.

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.

'Mid-Essex'.

M.J.C.

185. Scaet, Series D, type 8 var.?

Weight: 0.98g (15.1gr).

'Mid-Essex'.

M.J.C.

186. Scaet, 'porcupine', Series E.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).

'Mid-Essex'.

M.J.C.

Carolingian

187. Lothar I (emperor 840–55). Temple type, Morrison and Grunthal 525, *MEC* 819, Dorestad.

Obv. +IOTAMVS IPIIIPAT, cross and four pellets.

Rev. DORE[S]TATVS MON. temple.

Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 40°.

Wangford, near Brandon, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find.

Coins such as this, with a somewhat blundered obverse inscription, were regarded by Van Gelder as Frisian imitations, but S. Coupland ('Dorestad in the ninth century: the numismatic evidence', *JMP* 75 (1988), 5–26 at pp. 15, 18–22) has persuasively argued that they are official issues of Dorestad.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

188. Charles the Bald, 840–77, denier, Melle, as *MEC* 923 ff.

Weight: not recorded.

South Wirral, Cheshire: see *Cheshire Past*, Issue 3 (1994), 11.

(Not illustrated).

E.M.B.

Later Anglo-Saxon Coins

189. Cuthred of Kent, *BMC* 5, North 211, moneyer Duda.

Obv. +CVDRED REX CANT.

Rev. +DVDA MONETA.

Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Burgh Castle, Norfolk, site 13227 (reportedly). M/d find, April 1993.

J.A.D.

190. Offa, Light Issue, cf. Blunt 50, North 276, moneyer Eoba.

Obv. +O FF AR EX in angles of cross bottonnée with quatrefoil in centre.

Rev. E O B A (reading inwards) in angles of a celtic cross with an 'arrow' on each limb and a small cross, with a pellet in each angle, in the centre.

Weight: 1.12g (17.25gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Pitt, Hants., 1991. Found by Mr R. Elphinstone. For other early coins from the same site see no. 296 and CR 1987, 1991 and 1992. These coins and the other later coins from Pitt not appropriate to the Coin Register will be published together locally in due course.

G.T.D.

191. Offa, Light Issue, Blunt 56, North 287, moneyer Ethelwald.

Obv. OFFA/REX in two lines, divided by a pelleted line with cross ends.

Rev. EDEL/UALD (d inverted) in two lines, divided by a pelleted line with cross ends.

Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Chelmsford, near, Essex. September 1993. Found by Mr D. Wardell. Same site as no. 166.

Same dies as Blunt 56 (*SCBI* Copenhagen 56).

M.M.A.

192. Offa, Light Coinage, East Anglia, Blunt —, moneyer Ecbald.

Obv. OF FA RE X in the angles of a cross composed of a lozenge with a large pellet in a pelleted circle in the centre and at each of the angles of the lozenge.

Rev. ecbald in runes within an oblong panel with indented ends, interlace ornament above and below.

Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr). Die-axis: c. 70°.

Wenhaston, Suffolk, 1993.

This coin may be compared with other East Anglian coins which show the name of the moneyer Eadnoth also set out in runes on a simpler panel, e.g. that published by C.E. Blunt and G. Van der Meer in *BNJ* 38 (1969), 182–3. The Wenhaston coin is illustrated here both in its state when found (as shown at the BM) and after flattening (from photographs by courtesy of Mr D. Chick).

M.M.A.

193. Offa, Light Coinage, Blunt —, moneyer Eoba.

Obv. +OFFA RE+ (round O; only parts of FA and + visible). Bare-headed, curly-haired bust breaking inner circle of large pellets which ends with a curved line echoing the curve of the shoulders.

Rev. E O B A (square O).

Weight: 0.81g (12.5gr), incomplete. Die-axis: c. 270°.

Leatherhead, near, Surrey, 1992. Found by Mrs Lesley Pickard. Same site as nos 197, 223 and 259.

The obverse style, although striking, is rather crude and is unlike the images on other 'portrait' coins of this moneyer. The reverse is an unrecorded type for Eoba, and is closest to obverse dies of Alhmund (e.g. Blunt 40). The reverse of a coin of Dud (Blunt 27) may be a later derivative of the Eoba (or another moneyer's version of this design).

M.M.A.

194. Offa, Group III, cf. Blunt 103 (North 320), Canterbury, moneyer Osmod.

Obv. +OFFA between two lines across centre, M above, REX below.

Rev. OSMOD between two lines across centre, identical ornamentation top and bottom.

Weight: 1.32g (20.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Faversham, near, Kent. M/d find, c. 1991.

N.G.R.

195. Offa, Group III, Blunt 103 (North 320), Canterbury, moneyer Osmod.

Obv. +OFFA between two lines across centre, M above, REX below.

Rev. OSMOD between two lines across centre, different ornamentation top and bottom.

Weight: 1.37g (21.1gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr I. Taylor, 11 September 1993.

D. H.

Correction. Coin Register 1992 (*BNJ* 62), nos 255–256. These two coins of Offa are of the same obverse type, but not from the same die.

M.M.A.

196. Coenwulf of Mercia, Tribach type, North 342, moneyer uncertain.

Central fragment only of coin survives.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Waxman, 12 September 1993.

(Not illustrated).

D.H.

197. Coenwulf, Transitional Tribach type, Group I, BLS 3, North 343, London (unsigned), moneyer Diola.

Obv. COENVVL between two pelleted lines broken with hooked ends in the centre, REX F below and M above, a trefoil of pellets at each side of the M and after the F.

Rev. DI OL A between the arms of a bone-ended tribach with a row of pellets along each arm.

Weight: 1.28g (19.7gr). Die-axis: 0° (as shown).

Leatherhead, near, Surrey, 1992. Found by Mr T. Pickard. For other coins from this site see note at no. 193.

Different dies from the examples cited in BLS.

M.M.A.

198. Coenwulf, Portrait/Pincer Cross type, Group IV, BLS 46, North 347, Canterbury (unsigned), moneyer Weheard, c. 815–21.

Obv. +COENVVL F REX M.

Rev. +PERHEARDI MONETA (HE and NE ligulate).

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr), chipped. Die-axis: 90°.

Fordingbridge, near, Hants., 1992–3. Found by Mr M. Clarke.

Different dies to those cited in BLS (except reverse of 'Baldwin 1951' not checked).

M.M.A.

199. Burgred, Lunette type d, North 426 (var.), London (unsigned), moneyer Cenred.

Obv. BYRGRED REX.

Rev. MON I CENRED I ETA in three lines with two hooked lines between; the hooked ends here have an additional small crescent added.

Weight: 1.46g (22.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Severn Stoke, Worcs., 1992. The precise findspot is on confidential record in the Vale of Evesham Historical Society and in the BM. This coin and the next were found on the same site but about a hundred metres apart.

M.E.

200. Burgred, Lunette type d, North 426, London (unsigned), moneyer Tata.

Rev. MON I +TATA I ETA (trefoil of pellets after final A).

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr), chipped. Die-axis: 0°.

Severn Stoke, Worcs., 1992. See note at no. 199.

M.E.

201. Beonna of East Anglia, BMC i, North 430, moneyer Efe.

Obv. BEONNA REX (partly runic).

Rev. +E F E in angles of beaded cross.

Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Quiddenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

202. Æthelstan I of East Anglia, *BMC* VIII, North 440, moneyer Torhtelm.
Obv. +EDELSTAN. A with line above in centre.
Rev. +TORHTELM. Cross pattée with a pellet in each angle within inner circle.
 Weight not recorded.
 Wareham, near Dorset, 1993. Illustrated from a pencil rubbing.

I.V.

203. Æthelweard of East Anglia, *BMC* 21, North 452, moneyer Aedelhem.
Obv. [ED]ELPARD R[EX].
Rev. AE[DEL]NELIN.
 Weight: 1.08g (16.6gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.
 Foulton, Norfolk, Site TL 79 NW 202. M/d find, March 1993.

J.A.D.

204. St Edmund Memorial, broken fragments of a penny, East Anglia, moneyer Daegmund, c. 895-900.
Obv. +S[CEE]ADMVND RE. A with a trefoil of pellets at both (prob.) sides.
Rev. +DA[]ND MONETA (NE ligulate). Medium-sized cross in centre.
 Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 0°.
 Little Cornard, near Sudbury, Suffolk. Precise findspot in Suffolk SMR.

Same obverse die as BMC 322.

M.M.A./J.N.

205. St Edmund Memorial, penny, East Anglia or the East Midlands, moneyer Adradus, Cuerdale variety, cf. *BMC* 180ff., c. 895-905.
Obv. +SC EADMVND RC, around a seriffed A.
Rev. +ADRADVS VVONE, cross.
 Weight: 1.21g (18.7gr). Die-axis: 250°.
 Weeting, Norfolk, c. 1980. Shown by Mr David Palmer, who had been told that this and no. 206 had been found at Weeting.

M.A.S.B.

206. St Edmund Memorial, penny, East Anglia or the East Midlands, moneyer uncertain, post-Cuerdale variety, c. 905-20.
Obv. []EADI[] (retrograde), around a seriffed A.
Rev. []RAIN[], cross.
 Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr), broken.
 Weeting, Norfolk, c. 1980. Shown by Mr D. Palmer. See note at no. 205 above.

M.A.S.B.

207. Æthelwulf, Phase I, Non-portrait issue, *BMC* V, North 596, Canterbury, moneyer Osmund, 839-c. 843?
Obv. +EDELVVLF REX. Cross pattée over cross pattée saltire.
Rev. +OSMVND MONETA (N and E ligulate), in centre, SAX I ONIO I RVM in three lines.
 Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr). Die-axis: 90°.
 Pump Hill, St Osyth, Essex, 1993. Found by Mr R. Sippitt and shown at the Department of Coins and Medals by Mr N. Jacobs, BM.

M.M.A.

208. Æthelwulf, Phase IV, Late portrait issue, *BMC* XVII, North 618, Canterbury (unsigned), moneyer Dirm (Diarmod), c. 855-9.

Obv. +ADELVVLF X (sic no first E or RE). Double-struck.

Rev. +DIRM / MONBE (retrograde) on arms of cross. T, A, O, omega in the angles.

Weight: 1.06g (16.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.

London, Thames foreshore, Lambeth, spring 1993. Found by Mr E. Taylor.

This coin is of poor style, with tall, thin lettering unlike the normal coins of the type. The defective obverse and the abnormal reverse readings, poor production technique and low weight together suggest that it is not official. The moneyer's name reads DIRM. If the final letter was really an intentional part of the name, it would support his identification with Diarmod who later produced coins of the same type for Æthelberht. It is possible however that it merely reproduces the M of MONETA which usually appears after the normal DIAR on regular dies.

M.M.A.

209. Edward the Elder, Two Line type, *BMC* ii, North 649.

Obv. []DWEARD R[].

Rev. []OR[] | MON[].

Weight: 1.63g (25.1gr), corroded and incomplete. Die-axis: 225°.

Burnham Market, Norfolk, site 18496. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

210. Eadred, Bust Crowned type, *BMC* v, moneyer Asrer.

Obv. +EADRED RE.

Rev. +ASRER MONEN.

Weight: 1.03g (15.9gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Hindringham, Norfolk, site 24909. M/d find, 1993.

Cf. *SCBI* 34, 694, but different dies.

J.A.D.

211. Eadgar, Bust Crowned type, *BMC* v, North 750, moneyer Folchard.

Obv. []GAR RX. East Anglia style portrait.

Rev. +FOLCHA[].

Weight: 0.85g (13.1gr), incomplete and bent. Die-axis: 180°.

Gayton, Norfolk, site 15401. M/d find, September 1993.

J.A.D.

212. Eadgar, Bust Crowned type, *BMC* v, North 750. Fragmentary penny or chipped cut half-penny?

Obv. EADGAR R[].

Rev. +SIB[]TAE.

Weight: 0.62g (9.5gr), fragment. Die-axis: 0°.

Soham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, March 1993.

J.A.D.

213. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, London, moneyer uncertain.

Obv. +ÆDEL[]GLOX.

Rev. []I-O LVNDON.

Weight: 0.69g (10.6gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Bredfield, near Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1993. Same site as no. 138. Precise findspot in Suffolk SMR.

M.M.A./J.N.

214. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, Lincoln, moneyer Unbein.

Obv. +ÆDELÆD REX ANGLOX.

Rev. +VNBEIN M-O LINC.

Weight: not recorded.

Lincolnshire (no further details). Found by Mr T.A. Smythe. Illustrated from the enlarged image sent to BM, October 1993.

M.M.A.

215. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, only area within the inner circle present, so mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.49g (7.6gr), incomplete.

Alum Chine Beach, Dorset, 1992. Found by Mr M. Clarke.

The edge is broken (not cut) and is patinated so the loss of the area between the outer and inner circles is ancient and probably accidental, although decorative use of this central portion of the coin in jewellery remains possible.

M.M.A.

216. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 771, Oxford, moneyer Wulfwine.

Obv. +ÆDELÆD REX ANGLOX.

Rev. +PVLFPINE M-O ON OXN.

Weight: 1.55g (23.9gr). Die-axis: 10°.

West Walton, Norfolk, site 25853. M/d find, May 1993.

J.A.D.

217. Æthelred II, cut farthing, Long Cross type, *BMC* iia, North 774, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []BER[].

Weight: 0.43g (6.6gr).

Oxborough, Norfolk, site 1021. M/d find, July 1993.

J.A.D.

218. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, Lydford, moneyer Bruna.

Obv. +ÆDELÆD REX ANGL. (N and G ligulate).

Rev. +BRVNA M-O LYDA.

Weight: 1.36g (20.9gr). Die-axis: 270°.

St Lythans, South Glamorgan. M/d find, December 1993. Findspot recorded in confidence; coin now in National Museum of Wales.

From the same dies as the other recorded specimens, e.g., Brettell 451; FEJ 551.

E.M.B.

219. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, York, moneyer Ulfcetel.

Obv. +ÆDELÆD REX ANGLO. (N and G ligulate, N transversely-barred).

Rev. +VLFI CET: I ELM- I OEOI.

Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Tring, Herts., spring 1993. Found by Mr C. Brown. Precise location on confidential record at BM.

Same obverse die as *SCBI* Copenhagen 317.

M.M.A.

220. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, *BMC* i, Hild. A, North 777, Ipswich, moneyer Siwold.

Obv. +ÆDELÆD REX AN[].

Rev. +SIPO[]M'GIPESPIC.

Weight: 1.37g (21.1gr), fragment. Die-axis: 270°.

Alderton, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find, findspot recorded on the Suffolk SMR (ADT 024). From same site as no. 172.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

221. Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* xiv, North 787, London, moneyer Godric.

Obv. +CNV: I T REX A:.

Rev. +GODRIC ON LVND:.

Weight: 0.84g (13.0gr), chipped. Die-axis: 0°.

Lakenheath parish, Suffolk, 1990. M/d find, from the same site as no. 301.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

222. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Lincoln, moneyer Leofa or Leofheah?

Obv. +CNV TREX (N V ligated).

Rev. +LEAFA ON LINC:

Bishop Cannings, Wiltshire, 1993 (findspot recorded).

Not in Mossop. Bill Lean suggests Leofheah, who is known at Lincoln in the preceding type. Veronica Smart prefers Leofa who struck for Cnut at Chester, Lewes and London. It may be that this find sheds light on Mossop LVIII, 18 (Harold I with doubtful moneyer's name).

N.J.M.

223. Cnut, cut halfpenny, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Lincoln, moneyer Mana.

Obv. +CNVT I [] CX:

Rev. []NA ON LIN[].

Weight: 0.48g (7.4gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Leatherhead, near, Surrey. Found by Mr T. Pickard. For other coins from this site see note at no. 193.

Mana is recorded in Cnut Short Cross neither in Mossop, nor in Jonsson and Van Der Meer where coins of his are cited between Cnut, Pointed Helmet, and Edward the Confessor, Short Cross.

M.M.A.

224. Cnut, cut halfpenny, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Thetford, uncertain moneyer.

Obv. + [] JT RECX.

Rev. [] JN DEOD:.

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr), chipped. Die-axis: 180°.

Brandon parish, Suffolk, 1993. M/d find.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

225. Harold I, cut farthing, *BMC* v, North 803, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Rev. []ERT[].
 Weight: 0.26g (4.0gr).
 Oxborough, Norfolk, site 1021. M/d find, March 1993.
 J.A.D.

226. Harold I, Fleur-de-Lis type, *BMC* v, North 803, Lincoln, moneyer Sumerleda.
Rev. +SYMERLE ON IC.
 Weight: 0.79g (12.1gr).
 London, Thames excavation spoil. M/d find, 1991.
 Jo.B.

227. Edward the Confessor, Short Cross type, *BMC* ii, North 818, London, moneyer 'Edewi' (Eadwig).
Obv. +EDPA I RDE (*sic* – no R before second E).
Rev. +EDEPI ON LVND (ND ligulate).
 Weight not recorded.
 Stony Stratford, Bucks., summer 1993. A local find reported by Mr P. Woodfield.
 M.M.A.

228. Edward the Confessor, Short Cross type, *BMC* ii, North 818, Tamworth, moneyer Bruning.
Obv. +EDPE RDRE.
Rev. +BRVNINC ON TA.
 Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Amington, near Tamworth, Staffs. M/d find, June/July 1993.

This appears to be the first coin of this type known for the mint. The same site also produced a tenth-century silver gilt pin very similar to one in the Ashmolean Museum (D.A. Hinton, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon Ornamental Metalwork 700–1100 in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1974), p. 9, no. 3; pl.IV.3).

D.J.S.

229. Edward the Confessor, Trefoil quadrilateral type, *BMC* iii, North 817, London, moneyer Lifinc.
 Weight not recorded.
 Ogbourne St George, Wilts., 1991. Found by Mr L.J. Gibbs. For other coins from this site see next coin and no. 180.
 (Not illustrated).

T.M.S.

230. Edward the Confessor, cut farthing, Pax type, *BMC* iv, North 813, mint and moneyer uncertain.
 Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, *BMC* v, North 820, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Obv. []DPE[].
Rev. +RI[].
 Weight: 0.23g (3.5gr).
 Ogbourne St George, Wilts., 1991. Found by Mr L.J. Gibbs. For other coins from this site see previous coin and no. 180.
 (Not illustrated).

T.M.S.

231. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, *BMC* v, North 820, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Obv. []RD REX.
Rev. +[]CH(?).
 Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 West Walton, Norfolk, site 25853. M/d find, May 1993.
 J.A.D.

232. Edward the Confessor, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* vii, North 825, Cambridge, moneyer Ælfwig.
Obv. +[EDPA]D REX.
Rev. [+ÆLF]PII ON GRANT[EN].
 Weight: 0.91g (14.0gr), fragment. Die-axis: 270°.
 Shepreth, near, Cambs., 1993–4.
 Die-duplicate of *SCBI* Cambridge 875.
 M.A.S.B./S.J.S.

233. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* vii, North 825, Thetford, moneyer Godeleof.
Obv. +EDP[ERD R]EX-.
Rev. +GOD[ELEOF ON]DEOT.
 Weight: 0.63g (9.7gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Basingbourne, near, Cambs., August 1993. M/d find, findspot recorded confidentially.
 From the same site as nos 159, 174 and 182.
 Same dies as *SCBI* Oxford 887–8.
 M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

234. Edward the Confessor, Sovereign/Eagles type, *BMC* ix, North 827, mint and moneyer uncertain.
Obv. []DPEAR[].
Rev. []NEO[].
 Weight: 0.51g (7.6gr, fragment).
 Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Bright, 11 September 1993.
 D.H.

235. Edward the Confessor, cut farthing, Facing Bust/Small Cross type, *BMC* xiii, North 830, mint and moneyer uncertain.
 Weight: 0.24g (3.7gr).
 Bawsey, Norfolk, site 25962. M/d find, 1993.
 J.A.D.

Post Conquest Coins

236. William I, Canopy type, *BMC* III, North 843, Lincoln, moneyer Outhgrim.
Obv. +PLLEMVS REX (*sic* – I omitted).
Rev. +OIHGORIM ON LINC.
 Weight: 1.30g (20.1gr). Die-axis: 45°.
 Unknown findspot. Shown BM 1992.

The moneyer is not recorded in Mossop or elsewhere in the type at Lincoln; otherwise he is known at the mint only in *BMC* II.

M.M.A.

237. William I, Sword type, *BMC* VI, North 846, Shaftesbury, moneyer Godsbrand.
Rev. +GODSBRAND ON SC.
 Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).
 London, Thames Exchange. M/d find from spoil, 1989.
 Jo.B.

238. William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, Colchester, moneyer Wulfwine.
Rev. +PVLFPINE ON COL.
 Weight: 0.94g (14.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 London, Thames Exchange site. M/d find from spoil, 1989.
 One other specimen recorded: *SCBI* II, Stockholm 37.
 Jo.B.
239. William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, Christchurch, moneyer Coleman.
Obv. +PILLELM REX.
Rev. +COLEMAN ON TPI.
 Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 180°.
 Weston, Herts., autumn 1993. Found by Mr P. Hing.
 Different dies from *BMC* 475, the only other recorded example.
 M.M.A.
240. William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, London, moneyer Ælfwine.
Rev. +IELFPIINE ON []N.
 Weight not recorded.
 London, Thames Waterfront excavations. M/d find, 1990.
 Jo.B.
241. William II, cut halfpenny, Profile type, *BMC* I, North 851, Winchester, moneyer Edwine(?).
Rev. +E[]PINCE.
 Weight: 0.47g (7.2gr).
 London. M/d find from building site spoil, 1991.
 Jo.B.
242. William II, cut halfpenny, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852, Colchester, moneyer Wulfwine.
Rev. []NE ONCOL (N and C ligatured).
 Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 London, Thames Exchange. M/d find, 1989.
 Jo.B.
243. Henry I, Pax type, *BMC* III, North 859, Thetford, moneyer Godwine.
Obv. +HENRI REX.
Rev. +GODPINE ONDEF. N and D ligatured, E of DÆF blundered. *Rev.* legend starts at bottom, if PAX in field is the right way up.
 Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.
 Old Buckenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.
 J.A.D.
244. Henry I, Annulets and Piles type, *BMC* IV, North 860, Colchester, moneyer Aelfward.
Obv. +HENRIC REX.
Rev. +ÆILFPARD ONCOL (N and C ligatured).
 Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr). Die-axis: 320°.
 London. M/d find from spoil excavated at Thames waterfront building site (?Thames Exchange), 1989.
 New type and moneyer for the mint. A unique coin of *BMC* VII in Doubleday (Glen. 8 June 1988, 673)
 may be the same moneyer. Types of Henry I previously recorded at Colchester: *BMC* I, II, III, VII, XIII, XIV.
 Jo.B.
245. Henry I, Double Inscription type, *BMC* XI, North 867, Winchester, moneyer Aelfwine.
Rev. +AELFPINE ON PINCE.
 Weight not recorded.
 London, Thames Exchange. M/d find from spoil, 1989.
 Jo.B.
246. Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, Pembroke, moneyer Ghilepatric.
Rev. +GHILE[].
 Weight: 0.60g (9.2gr), fragment. Die-axis: 270°.
 Lamphey, Pembro. (Dyfed). M/d find, May 1993.
 From the same dies as the two other recorded specimens (*SCBI* 20 (Mack), 1536 and 'Beauvais', lot 10, now in N.M.W.).
 E.M.B.
247. Henry I, Pellets in Quadrilateral type, *BMC* XIV, North 870, Dorchester, moneyer Osbern.
Obv. []RICVS RE:
Rev. +OSB[ER]N [ON] DORECE:
 Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 325°.
 Ware, near, Herts., 1993. Found by Mr P.T. Boustred.
 Same reverse die as BM 1975-8-25, 201 *ex* Lincoln hoard and others; obverse die not noted.
 M.M.A.
248. Henry I, Pellets in Quadrilateral type, *BMC* XIV, North 870, Thetford, moneyer Acus.
Obv. +[h]E[NRICVS R]:
Rev. +A[CVS: ON: TE]TFOR:
 Weight: 1.34g (20.7gr). Die-axis: c. 225°.
 St Yrrop, Notts., summer 1993. Found on farmland.
 Die-duplicate of BM 1944-4-1, 279, W.A. Brooke bequest.
 M.M.A.
249. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, London, moneyer Aedgar.
Rev. +ÆDGAR: ON: LVNDE:
 Weight: 1.36g (20.9gr).
 London, Thames Waterfront excavations. M/d find, 1990.
 Jo.B.
250. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, London, moneyer Baldewin.
Rev. +BALDEPIN. O[].
 Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr).
 London, Thames Exchange. M/d find from spoil, 1990.
 Jo.B.
251. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Winchester, moneyer Saiet.
Obv. +HENR[].
Rev. []SAIET: ON: P[].
 Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr). Die-axis: 270°.
 Ringwould, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Barwell, June 1993.
 D.H.

252. Henry I. Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain. Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr). Bylaugh, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

253. Henry I, cut halfpenny. Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain. Rev. []NRIC[](?). Weight: 0.66g (10.1gr). East Walton, Norfolk, site 28119. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

254. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Ipswich, moneyer Aedgar. Obv. []TIE[]NE RE. Rev. +AEDGA[]E. Weight: 1.42g (21.9gr). Die-axis: 135°. Little Mongeham, near Deal, Kent. M/d find by Mrs V.M. Murphy, December 1992.

D.H.

255. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, London, moneyer Baldwin. Obv. +STIEF[]. Rev. []EPIN: ON: LV[]. Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr). Die-axis: 180°. Marlow, Bucks, 12 September 1992. M/d find in a ploughed field on the outskirts of Marlow (findspot recorded confidentially). Information by courtesy of Mr Michael Kirk and Dr D.M. Metcalf.

No die link has been found to confirm the attribution, but Baldwin is the only one of the recorded moneyers who matches the inscription so far as it can be read. The obverse legend appears to be a short one implying a late date in the issue, and this is supported by the style of bust.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

256. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Norwich, moneyer Eustace. Obv. illegible. Rev. +EVSTA[]NOR[]. Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr). Die-axis: 260°. Mildenhall parish, Suffolk, 1991. M/d find.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

257. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Thetford, moneyer Hacun.

Obv. []STIEFNE R.

Rev. +HACVN: ON: TEF.

Weight: 1.27g (19.6gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Banham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1993.

Hacun of Thetford, known for Stephen *BMC* II and VI, has apparently not previously been recorded for *BMC* I.

J.A.D.

258. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, uncertain mint, moneyer Willem.

Rev. +WILL[]ON: [].

Weight: 0.77g (11.9gr).

Ongar, Essex. M/d find, 1991.

Jo.B.

259. Stephen, cut halfpenny. Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Norwich, moneyer Eustace.

Obv. [+STIEFNE]RE[] (room for X, also illegible on die-duplicate).

Rev. +EVS---STA---: N--- (for +EVSTACE: ON: NORPI:). Double struck.

Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr).

Leatherhead, near, Surrey. Found by Mr T. Pickard. For other coins from this site see note at no. 193.

Die-duplicate of BM 1921-8-19, 113 ex South Kyme hoard.

M.M.A.

260. Stephen, Mack, *S* 197, *BMC* 238, Northampton, moneyer Willem.

Obv. +S[] (possibly just STIEFNE, no title). Engraved *S*.

Rev. []JE[]N. NOH. Punched letters.

Weight: 0.93g (14.3gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Paulerspury, near, Northants., summer 1993. Found by Mr L. Jones.

The reverse reading of *BMC* 238 (different dies) is uncertain and the coin is unlocated in Mack. Here the NO of the mint signature is clear and the final letter is almost certainly an h, not an R. An attribution to Northampton is supported by the findspot. The E in the moneyer's name is clear, followed by the bases of two uprights; the space between the faint initial cross and the E would fit four letters better than two or three. The moneyer is probably Willem, named on the other known coin (*SCB* Midlands, 724, different dies) whose mint is illegible.

M.M.A.

261. Stephen, fragment of Voided Cross Moline type, Mack, *S* uncertain areas J, 213a, Southampton, moneyer W-----.

Obv. +STE[] (punched letters).

Rev. +W[]NO (engraved letters).

Weight: 0.62g (9.5gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.

Blandford, near, Dorset. Found by Mr M. Clarke.

This coin's reverse type associates it with the SANSON ON ANT group which many recent finds in Hampshire and surrounding areas have securely associated with Southampton rather than Canterbury. The reverse inscription of the present coin, from an irregular die, is blundered, but the mint signature on the Mack specimen (from different dies) reads ANT. The moneyer's name is illegible beyond W on both.

M.M.A.

262. Stephen, contemporary forgery of Cross Moline type, *BMC* I.

Obv. +STI[]E RE: (the last E has only central horizontal). Crowned bust of crude style, to right.

Rev. []IINTI[] (N transversely-barred).

Weight: 0.53g (8.2gr).

Billingsgate, London, in the 1980s. Shown BM March 1993. Found by Mr E. Taylor.

The dies were made with punches but the curious style, apparently illiterate legends, very low weight and visibly base metal suggest a forgery rather than a local issue.

M.M.A.

263. Stephen, Cross Pattée type, *BMC* II, North 878, Dover, moneyer Adam.
Rev. +AD[]OFRE.
 Weight: 0.34g (5.2gr), fragment. Die axis: 190°.
 London. M/d find from Thames Exchange spoil, 1991.

See Mack, *BNJ* 35, no. 57y.

Jo.B.

264. Stephen, Cross Pattée type, *BMC* II, North 878, Oxford, moneyer Gahan.
Rev. +GAHAN: ON: O[].
 Weight: 0.53g (8.2gr), corroded.
 London, Thames riverside excavation. M/d find from spoil, 1990.

Jo.B.

265. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross and Fleurs type, *BMC* III, Stamford, moneyer uncertain.
Rev. +[]N STA.
 Weight not recorded.

Peterborough, Cambs. M/d find, 1991. Illustrated x2.

New type for the mint. Hitherto, only two mints, Huntingdon and Northampton, were known to have struck type *BMC* III of Stephen.

Jo.B.

266. Stephen, irregular, Midland and S.W. area, Mack 181, Oxford, moneyer Adam.

Rev. +A[]OX:.

Weight: 0.81g (12.5gr).

Oxfordshire. M/d find, 1991.

Jo.B.

267. Stephen, fragment of Mack, S Midlands and South-Western Area group, nos 181–3, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. []ST[]. Crowned bust to right, rosette of pellets in front.

Rev. []N[]. Cross patté with a pellet in each angle.

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr), incomplete.

Winsall Down, near Winchester, Hants., 1992. Found by Mr R. Elphinstone. Same site as no. 295.

G.T.D.

268. Stephen, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, London, moneyer Radulf.

Rev. +RADVL[]LVN.

Weight: 1.18g (18.2gr).

Essex/Suffolk border. M/d find, 1990.

Jo.B./M.W.

269. Stephen, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, Rochester, moneyer Robert?
 Lakenheath parish, Suffolk, 1991. M/d find from the same site as no. 299, but different from no. 256.

The mint is otherwise unknown: see the short article elsewhere in this volume, where the coin is illustrated.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

270. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, London, moneyer Tomas.

Obv. +STIEF[].

Rev. +TOMAS: ON LVNDE.

Weight not recorded. Die-axis: 0°.

London, Thames excavation, riverside M/d find, 1990.

Jo.B.

271. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, probably Norwich, moneyer Hildebran.

Rev. []LDE[]. The letter after the E appears to have an upright stroke.

Weight: 1.27g (19.5gr).

Norfolk. M/d find, 1991.

Jo.B.

272. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.43g (6.6gr), fragment. The coin is unworn.

Llantrithyd, South Glamorgan. M/d find, September 1993.

E.M.B.

273. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Colchester, moneyer Randulf.

Rev. +RANDV[]R(?).

Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr). Die-axis: 190°.

Suffolk. M/d find, 1991.

A new type for the moneyer Randulf at Colchester, only previously recorded for *BMC* II. The mint name may end with a letter S (COLECS), or R (COLER).

Jo.B.

274. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.24g (3.7gr), severely clipped.

Flixton, North Yorkshire.

(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

275. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr).

Grimston, Norfolk, site 11789. M/d find, May 1993.

J.A.D.

276. Henry of Northumberland, Stewart Type I, North 912, Corbridge, moneyer Erebald.

Obv. HENRIC ERL.

Rev. +EREBALD: ON COREB:

Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Great Mongeham, Kent. M/d find by Mr B. Skeats, 11 September 1993.

D.H.

277. Matilda (Maud), type as Stephen *BMC* I, Mack, S 234b (same dies), Oxford, moneyer Swetig.

Obv. MA[]IL[]: IM[].

Rev. +S[]E[]ON: O[].

Weight: 0.63g (9.6gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Oxfordshire. M/d find, 1990.

Jo.B.

278. Matilda (Maud) (?), type as Stephen *BMC* I, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Obv. []R: (? – the tail of the R is legible).

Rev. []R[]DE[].

Weight: 0.62g (9.5gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 0° approx. Monmouth, Gwent, in excavations at 43–47 Monnow Street by the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust in 1989 (find 164, context 425).

This coin appears to belong to the coinage of the Angevin party in the Bristol/South Wales region, both from its crude and characteristic die-engraving and from the use of 'DE' in place of 'ON' in the reverse legend. The issuer, moneyer and mint cannot be identified with certainty at present, since a die-duplicate has yet to be found. A possible identification is Matilda (Maud the Empress), with obverse reading *IMPERATR.*, as Mack, *S* 230; the reverse suggests a moneyer with R as third or fourth letter. Turchil of Bristol is a likely candidate, since although the coin is distinctly double-struck there appears to be a curved letter following the R, followed in turn by signs of several vertical uprights (he is the moneyer of Mack 230). Excavations at 69 Monnow Street in 1988 (by the Monmouth Archaeological Society) produced also a corroded fragment of a penny in debased silver, of the *SANSON ON ANT* group. The Monmouth coin series goes back to William II, *BMC* V, but a hoard of Æthelred II *CRVX* pennies, published in this volume, has been found nearby.

E.M.B.

279. Henry II. Tealby type, class C, North 956, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr).

Wrenningham, Norfolk, TM 19NE 96. M/d find, June 1993.

J.A.D.

280. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, class C, North 956, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. []DA[](?)

Bawsey, Norfolk, site 25962, c78. M/d find 1993.

J.A.D.

281. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, class D, North 958/9, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.60g (9.2gr).

Bawsey, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1993.

J.A.D.

282. Henry II, Tealby type, class E, either Canterbury, moneyer Goldhavo or London, moneyer Godefroi or Godwin.

Obv. []A.

Rev. +GO[]N.

Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr). Die-axis: 200°.

Burgh Castle, Norfolk. M/d find by Mr Sprayson, 1993.

D.J.S.

283. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr).

Bawsey, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1993.

J.A.D.

284. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr).

Edgefield, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1993.

J.A.D.

285. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr).

Gayton, Norfolk, site 3739. M/d find, September 1993.

J.A.D.

286. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.45g (6.9gr).

Wrenningham, Norfolk, site TM 19NE 96. M/d find, July 1993.

J.A.D.

287. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.59g (9.1gr); base and silver plated.

Coltishall, Norfolk, site TM 22 SE 103. M/d find, June 1993.

J.A.D.

288. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.29 (4.4gr).

Ashill, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1993.

J.A.D.

289. Henry II, Tealby type, cut farthing, North 952–61, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Weight: 0.31g (4.7gr).

Colton, Norfolk. M/d find, May 1993.

J.A.D.

290. Edward IV, penny, Durham, King's Receiver, North 1544, local dies.

Obv. []WARD'REX A[]. Unusual neck consisting of vertical stalk with two lateral branches with leaves.

Rev. CIVI | TAS | DO[], with extra pellet in lower right angle and rose in centre.

Weight: 0.71g (10.9gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Asford, near Kent. M/d find, c. 1991.

N.G.R.

291. Scotland, David I, cut halfpenny, Group IVb, Carlisle, moneyer Erebald; cf. Stewart fig. 6.

Obv. +DA[].

Rev. +EREBAL[].

Weight: 0.62g (9.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Aiskew, North Yorkshire, October 1991.

C.P.B.

292. Scotland, James IV, billon penny, Edinburgh.

Weight: 0.37g.

Ryther, North Yorkshire, May 1992.

(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

293. Anglo-Gallic, Aquitaine, Edward I, denier au lion.
Weight: 0.48g.
Ryther, North Yorkshire, September 1992.
(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

294. Scandinavian imitation of Æthelred II, Long Cross type (prototype possibly of York mint), Sigtuna, Sweden, c.1000. Made into a brooch in England.

Obv. pseudo-inscription. Bare-headed bust to right.

Rev. pseudo-inscription. Long cross, each limb terminating with three crescents, the outer two containing pellets.

Weight: 1.57g (24.2gr), unpecked. Die-axis: 90°.

Old Romney, Kent, 1992. Same site as no. 157. Found by Mr N. Allen. Acquired by the BM (1993-3-25, 1).

This is the first published find of a Scandinavian imitation of Æthelred's issues in England. Traces of brooch fittings of English type appear on the reverse. There is no gilding. For a detailed discussion see Archibald, in *Svensk Numismatisk Tidskrift* 6 (1993), 148-50.

M.M.A.

295. Metz, petit denier, twelfth century, exact type not in Ghysens.

Obv. rosettes in place of legend. Standing figure to right holding a crozier.

Rev. METO. Long cross pattée with a pellet in annulet in each angle within inner circle.

Weight: 0.32g.

Winsall Down, near Winchester, Hants., 1991, same site as no. 267. Found by Mr M.J. Sleeman.

G.T.D.

296. Flanders, petit denier, first period, mid-twelfth century, money Simon, Ghysens no. 10.

Obv. two overlapping fleurs-de-lys with star above and triangle below.

Rev. +SIMON. Cross pattée with an annulet and a crescent in alternate angles.

Weight: 0.40g.

Pitt, Hants., 1991, same site as no. 190 and earlier finds there cited. Found by Mr R. Elphinstone.

G.T.D.

297. Flanders and Namur, Guy of Dampierre (1279-1305), sterling, Alost, Mayhew 2.

Weight: 1.22g (18.8gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Mulbarton, Norfolk, site 29342. M/d find, 1993.

J.A.D.

298. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280-1304), sterling, Valenciennes, Mayhew 25.

Weight: 1.40g (21.6gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Edgefield, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1993.

J.A.D.

299. Brabant, John II (1294-1312), sterling, Mayhew 48 var.

Obv. +I:DVX: LIMBVRGIE (double annulet stops), bust with chaplet of roses.

Rev. DVX BRA BAN TIE (small cross as stop).

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).

Lakenheath parish, Suffolk, 1991. From the same site as no. 269.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

300. Brabant, John III (1312-55), sterling, Brussels, De Witte 307, issued 1318-26.

Obv. +I:DVX: DE: BRABANTIA, châtel.

Rev. MON ETA BRV XEL'.

Weight not recorded.

Fenstanton, Cambs., 6 June 1993. M/d find by Mr R. Fox during rally (grid reference recorded confidentially).

(Not illustrated).

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

301. Namur, William (1337-91), sterling, Méraude, Mayhew 361.

Weight: 0.87g (13.4gr), chipped.

Lakenheath parish, Suffolk, 1990. M/d find from the same site as no. 221.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

302. Tirol, Count Henry (1310-35), grosso aquilinus

Obv. COMES · TIROL; spread eagle, head l., with pellet in 1. field.

Rev. HENRICVS; cross with cinquefoils in angles.

Weight: 0.54g.

Sheringham/Weybourne, Norfolk. M/d find, September 1992.

J.A.D.

303. Burgundy, Philip the Bold (1363-1404) or John the Fearless (1404-19), billon engrogne, Dumas 13-7 var. or 14-12.

Obv. []:COM:BVRG (trefoil stops), crowned shield (Old Burgundy).

Rev. MONE[TA:ANGR]OGRIE, cross with lion-shield overlaid.

Weight: 1.19g, chipped.

Blythburgh, near, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find, findspot recorded on Suffolk SMR. From the same site as no. 306.

This type was struck for both Philip the Bold and John the Fearless: the duke's name is not legible on this specimen. However, the trefoil punctuation is that of Dumas 14-12, suggesting that the coin is one of John. It is a rare coin and an unusual find for England.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

304. Gotland, silver witten, Visby, fourteenth/fifteenth cent.

Obv. []WISBVCEN[], Agnus Dei.

Rev. +MONET[A CIVITA]S, plant (floreate lys).

Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Eaton Soaken, near, Cambs., May 1992.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

305. Venice, Francesco Foscari (1423–1457), grossetto.
Weight: 1.44g.
Acaster Malbis, North Yorkshire, March 1993.
(Not illustrated).

C.P.B.

306. Venice, Antonio Priuli (1618–23), soldo or 12
bagattini, base billon, *CNI* VIII, p. 79, no. 181.
Weight: 1.91g.
Blythburgh, near, Suffolk, 1992. M/d find, findspot
recorded on the Suffolk SMR. From the same site as no.
303.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

307. Copper-alloy 'bracteate'.
Pseudo-legend in imitation of moneyer-mint formula;
voided cross, with pellet in each angle.
Twelfth–thirteenth centuries?
Weight: 0.91g.
'Norfolk'.

The size and fabric are similar to Edwardian jettons,
but an earlier date is likely, and a decorative, rather
than numismatic function possible.

M.J.C.

REVIEWS

Metallurgy in Numismatics, vol. 3, edited by M.M. Archibald and M.R. Cowell. Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication no. 24. 1993. pp. 250.

MOST of the twenty-one contributions in this volume originated in the 1988 London Symposium on *Techniques of Coin Production*. Now, as then, the chronological range is wide, from classical times to the present day, and there is a pleasing variety of approach.

Of particular value to members of this Society who are interested in the early mechanisation of the Royal Mint will be 'Early Austrian and German machine minting' by David Sellwood, 'Rotary Coining in Britain' by Edward Besly, and 'Mechanisation at the 17th Century London Mint: the testimony of tokens' by Robert Thompson because each in its own excellent way helps to clarify how the processes worked and the extent to which they were used. In 'Coining and die-making techniques in the 17th Century' Peter Gaspar makes an important observation concerning the use as a matrix of the counterpunch, a tool long known to us from literary evidence but hitherto undetected amongst surviving collections; and in 'Punches and dies in the 18th Century' Graham Dyer explains with convincing plausibility how the development of the fully lettered punch brought more rather than fewer working tools, the point being that in order to reduce the strain on the fully made-up punch, another, without lettering, was used to begin preliminary forming of the die.

Two other contributions which stand out are 'The Coining Press after 1817' and 'The future of coinage'. In the first Denis Cooper emphasises the importance of Uhlhorn who invented the toggle-action press which until today remains the essential mechanism for coining, while in the second Peter Hatherley discusses how the Age of Copper in which Llantrisant was designed to operate is being replaced under the pressure to coin ever more economically by the Age of Steel in which mild steel blanks will be plated with copper or nickel. In his observation that it is the developed economies which have the highest per capita demand for coins lies hope for our subject, because as the world economy grows and more and more economies cease to be underdeveloped more and more coins will be needed thus ensuring that future numismatists will have more and more material to study.

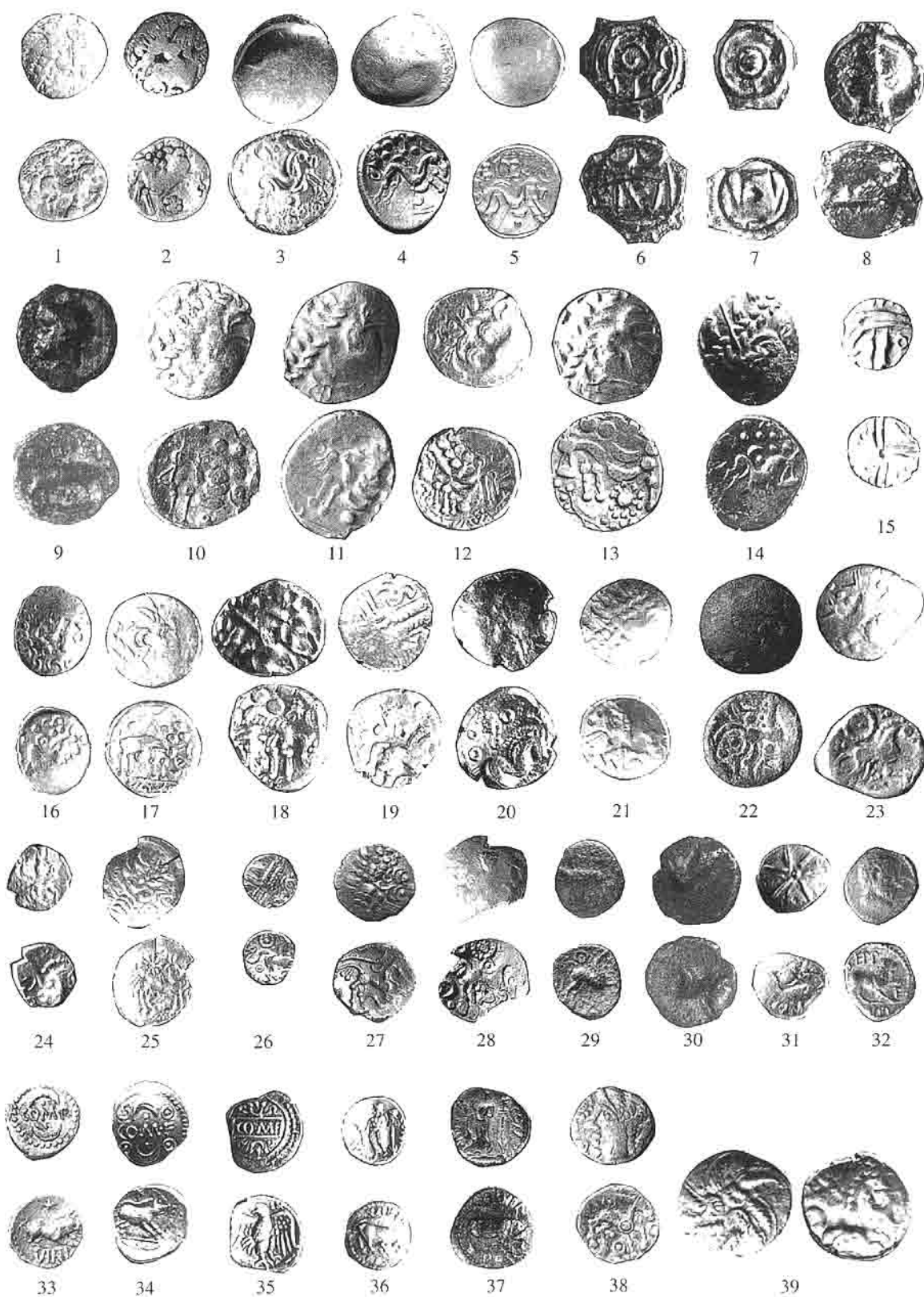
C.E. CHALLIS

Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: 2. Finds and environmental evidence. Edited by Alan Vince. [With contributions from fourteen named individuals]. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Special Paper 12 (London, 1991). 452pp, many illus.

ALTHOUGH this substantial volume was published as long ago as 1991, knowledge of its existence does not seem to have spread widely among numismatists, in part no doubt because its title does not indicate that it has any numismatic content. The reality is that it contains two contributions of particular numismatic interest, the first an essay by Peter Stott on 'Saxon and Norman coins from London' (pp. 279-325), which concludes with a catalogue of finds of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins made in the City of London and in Westminster up to early 1987, the second a discussion by Marion Archibald of 'Anglo-Saxon and Norman lead objects with official coin types' (pp. 326-346). Stott's is the first full-length discussion of coins and coin finds in the context of current archaeological work on Anglo-Saxon and Norman London, and his catalogue of the material puts on record a number of previously unpublished coins, a good proportion of which derive or probably derive from the productive Billingsgate site excavated from the early 1980s onwards. Here and there he suffers from an apparent time lag between the completion of his manuscript and its publication, for he has not been able to take account of discoveries or of changes of opinion among scholars that have taken place since 1987, and he is also too respectful of opinions expressed in the 1960s or 1970s which no longer seem valid today; but these are minor blemishes, and one must set against them his rather unnerving but largely justified contention that the late Michael Dolley's reconstructions of the 'St. Martin's le Grand', 'Gracechurch Street' and 'Walbrook' hoards of late Anglo-Saxon pence are all more or less faulty. It may be noted in this context that Edward Besly has drawn the present reviewer's attention to new evidence for finds of coins of Edward the Confessor in the City of London provided by the surviving manuscript catalogue of the collection of the City of London-based businessman Thomas Bliss.

Marion Archibald's contribution utilises a flood of new material, chiefly from Billingsgate but also from sites in Essex, and even from Richmond in Yorkshire, to offer a new and challenging interpretation of the lead objects carrying impressions from coin dies that have long perplexed numismatists. The theory that they are 'trial pieces', recording dies for archival purposes, seems now to be incorrect, while only three of the objects are of suitable physical character to be officially stamped coin weights. Her own view is that the remaining objects are connected with the collection of customs dues, coin-shaped pieces being receipts for payments (for which she cites possible French parallels) and longer strips being tags for marking imported goods. It is not easy to prove or disprove such suggestions, but her arguments against these objects being 'trial pieces' are certainly very persuasive, and her remarks as a whole should be read with attention by us all.

HUGH PAGAN



COIN REGISTER (1)

PLATE 14



COIN REGISTER (2)

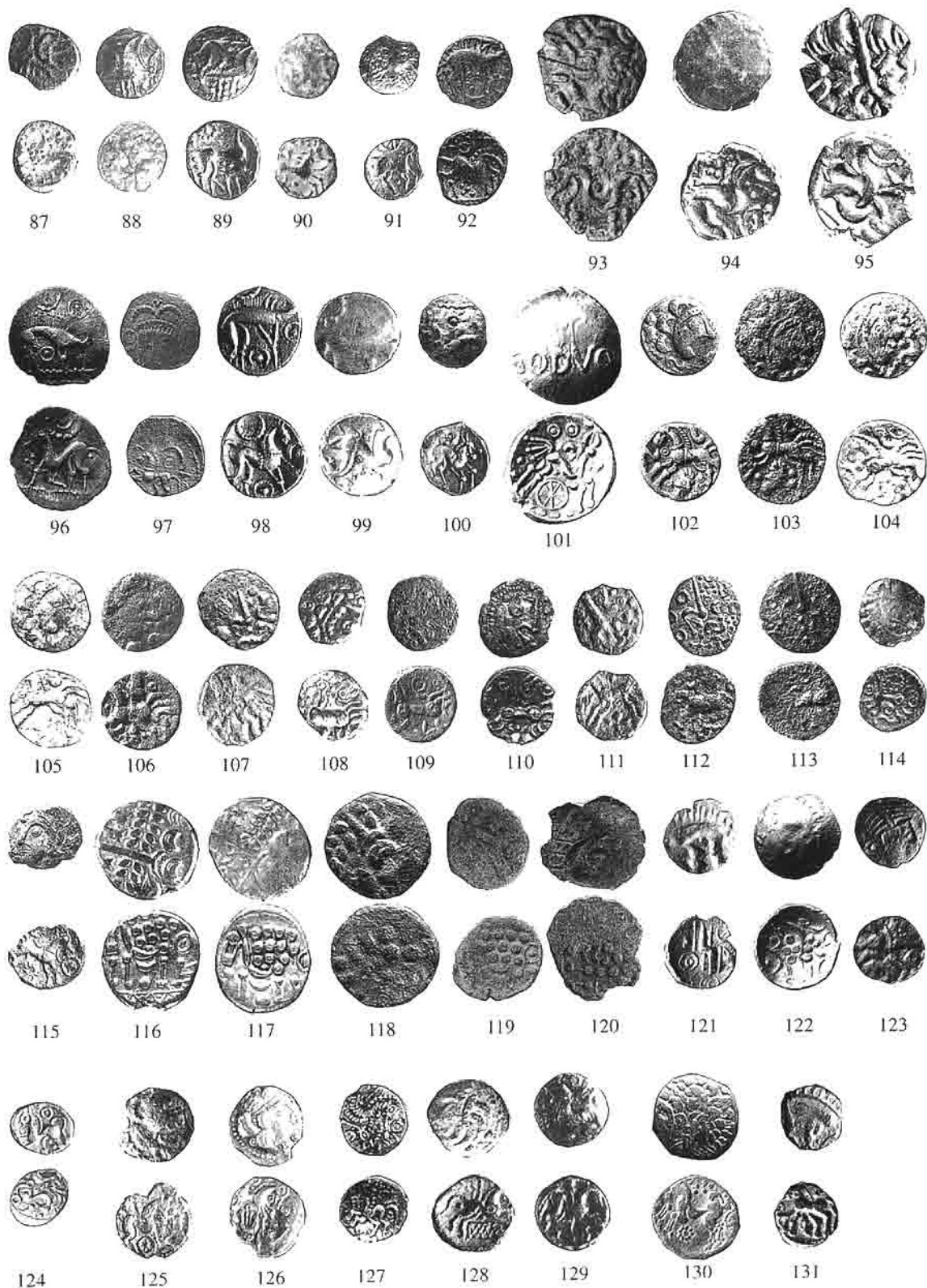
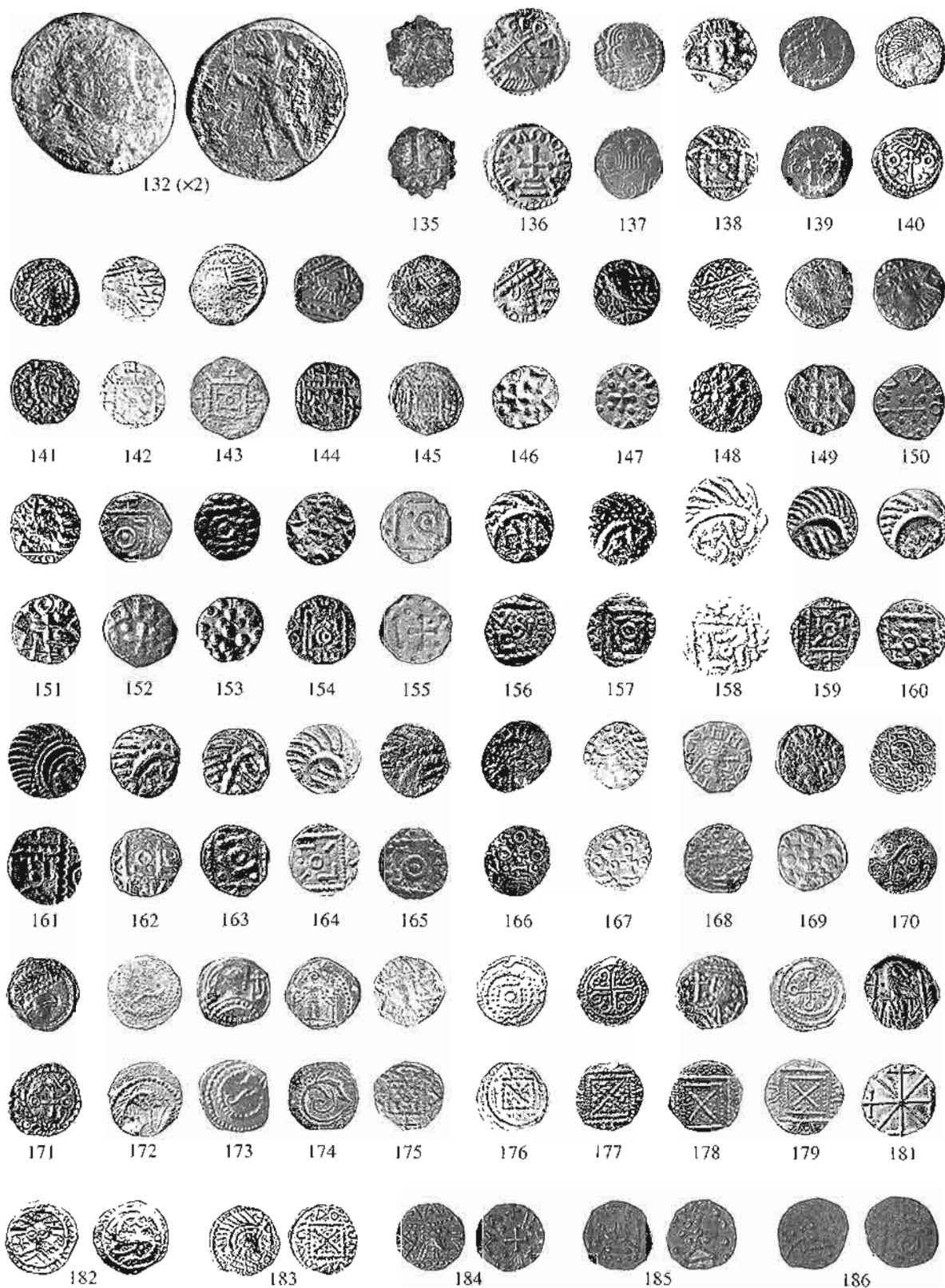
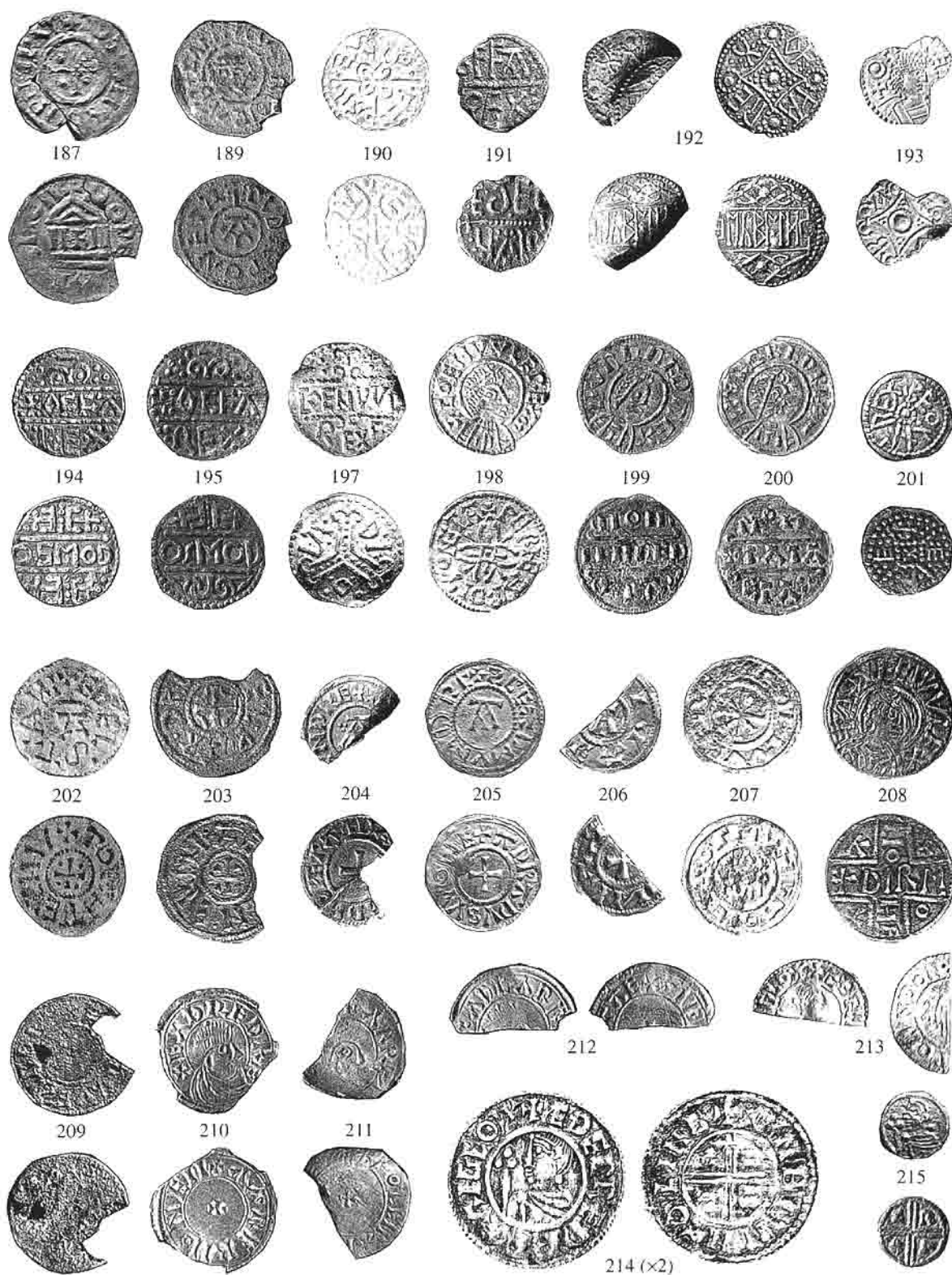


PLATE 16

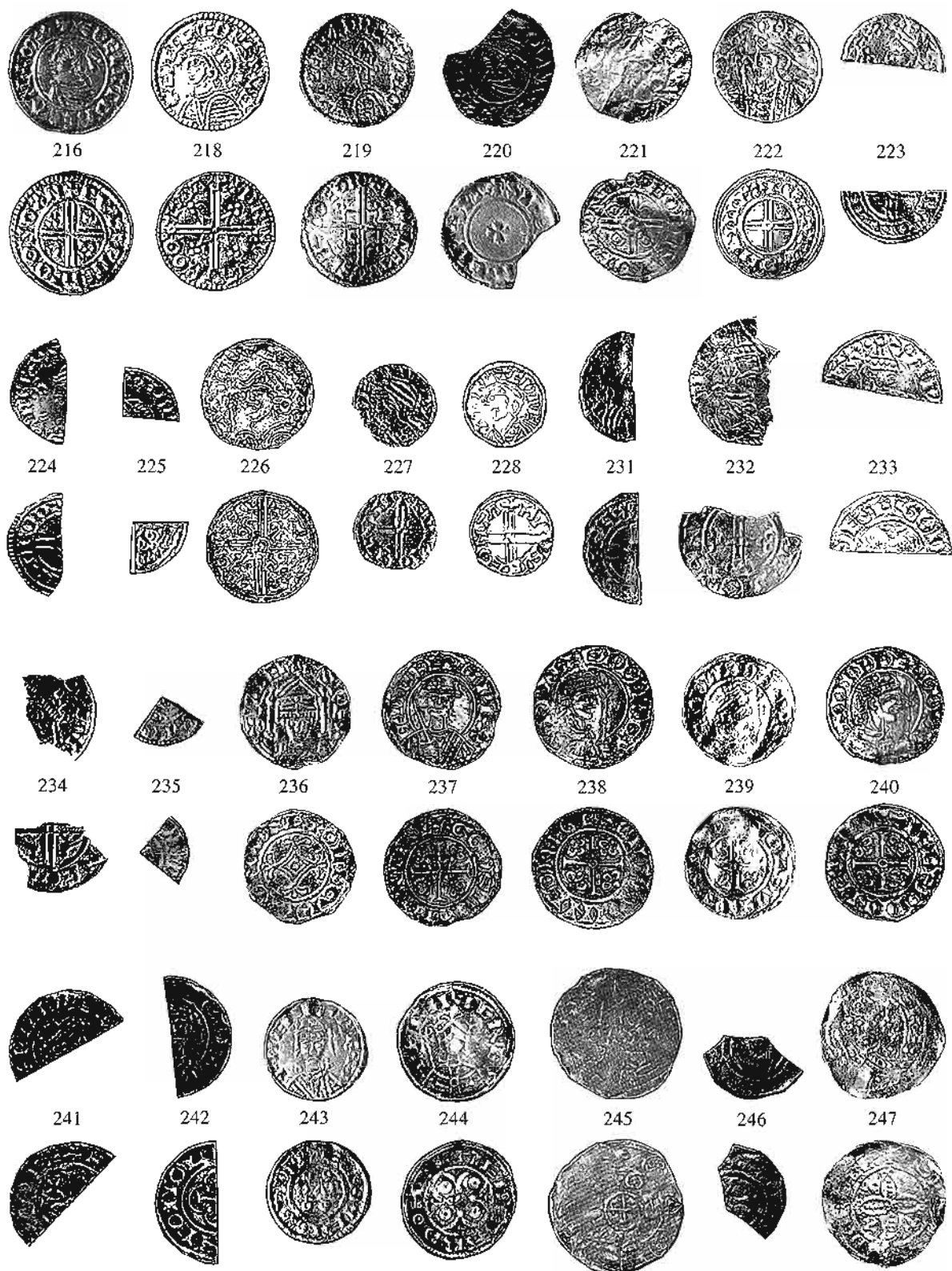


COIN REGISTER (4)



COIN REGISTER (5)

PLATE 18



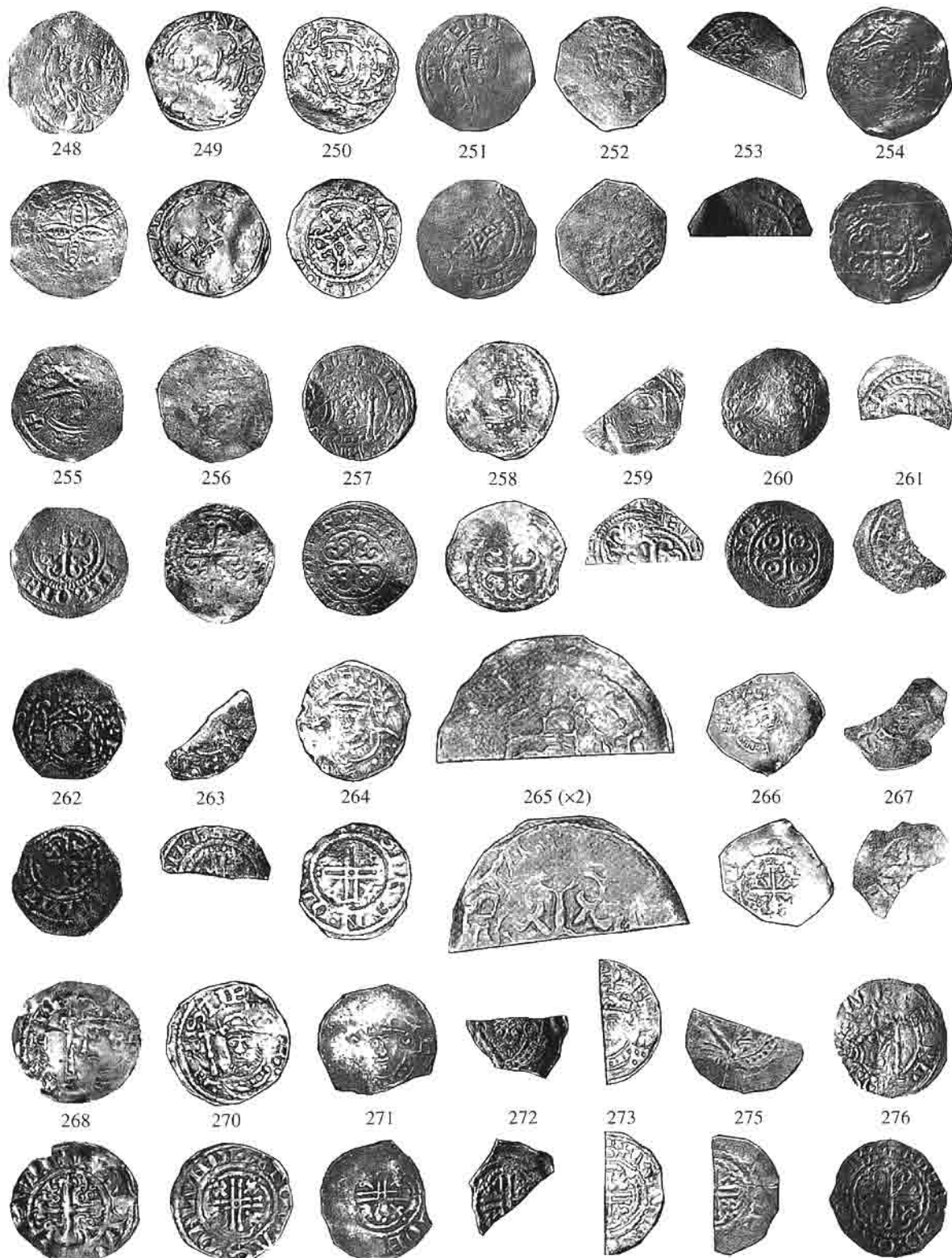
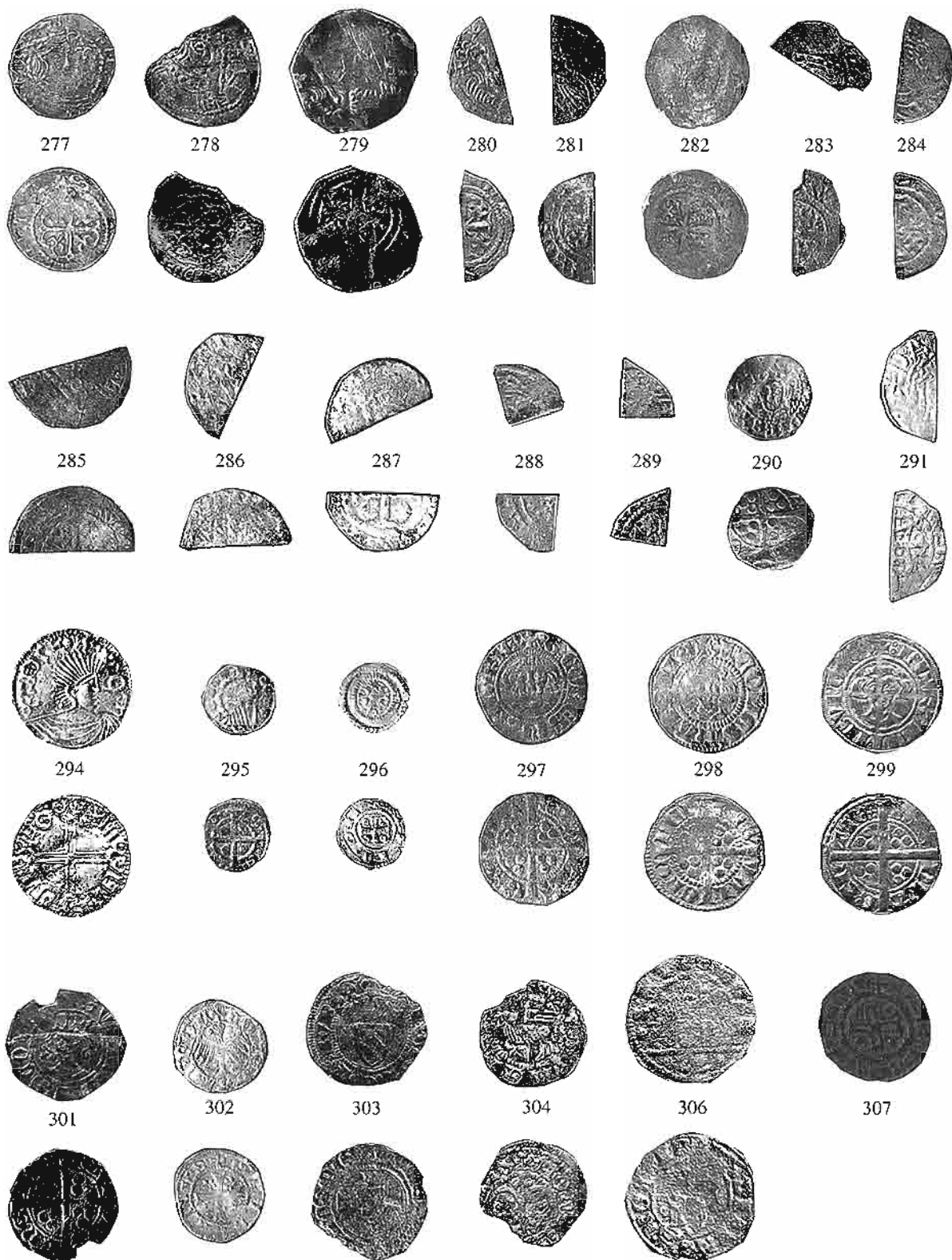
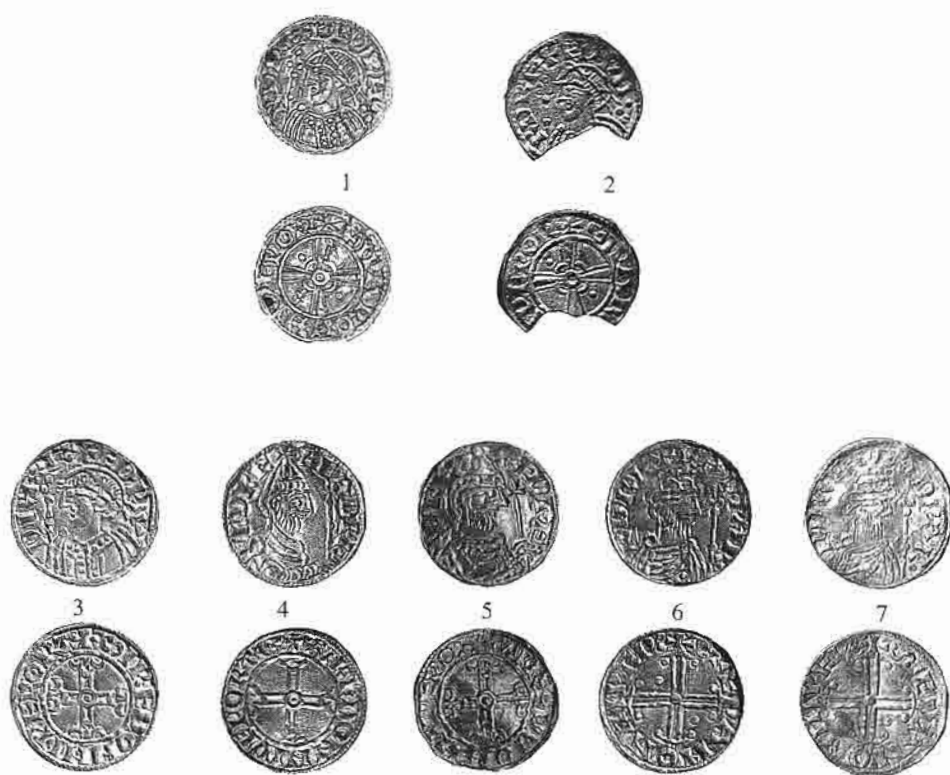


PLATE 20



COIN REGISTER (8)



British Coin-Weights: A Corpus of Coin-Weights made in England, Scotland and Ireland for Use in Britain, by P. & B.R. Withers, Galata Print, 1993. 368 pages, oversize A4. ISBN 0 9516671 1 4.

THE publication of this book marks a turning point in the study of British coin-weights. It may rightly be regarded as the culmination of twentieth-century research. Furthermore it will surely be the cornerstone for future work in its field, and a very useful reference for work in associated areas.

The study of coin-weights is an interesting and, in some ways, a difficult subject. It is interesting for several reasons. The use of coin-weights spans almost the entire period during which gold coinage was widely used, in particular the European experience from the introduction of the florin in the thirteenth century to the Great War. The story of coin-weights mirrors the ebb and flow of trade, national and international upheavals, and the perennial problem of maintaining a 'sound' currency. The study of coin-weights is difficult for just the same reasons. Neither a purely coin-based approach nor a purely historical one can begin to illuminate the true picture. In addition, there are the usual difficulties of method and interpretation associated with any form of metrological enquiry.

The complexity of the subject may explain why it was not until 1909, in the 6th volume of the *British Numismatic Journal*, that we find the first attempt to discuss English coin-weights. (Although several articles on coin-weights were published in France and Belgium in the second half of the nineteenth century, they did not discuss the English series.) The author of the 1909 article was L.A. Lawrence, a leading numismatist of the time. His paper was based on evidence culled from Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, and the study of a small accumulation of weights which he had put together in the course of his numismatic researches. These weights are now in the British Museum, where the collection has grown enormously since Lawrence's time.

While crediting Lawrence with the pioneering work in the subject, it is impossible to overlook the defects of his account. His artefactual evidence was curiously unrepresentative, and his reliance on Ruding for documentary evidence meant that he completely missed some important chapters in the story. For example, there are no official documents referring to the extensive circulation of Portuguese gold coins in England in the middle of the eighteenth century, because the authorities were embarrassed by it. As Snelling says, the gold coin of Portugal 'passes only by courtesy, and not by law'. However, what happened in Ireland was a different matter, and the authorities found it acceptable that foreign gold of any kind should circulate there. Indeed, several proclamations regulating the value of foreign gold in Ireland were issued. This led Lawrence to believe that coin-weights for Portuguese coins were all intended for use in Ireland. In fact, ample evidence that the weights were intended for use in England is provided by the makers'

labels affixed to English coin scale-boxes of the time, and many other contemporary sources.

Despite its shortcomings, Lawrence's paper aroused some interest in the subject. When it was read to the BNS a few members of the Society exhibited coin-weights, and several others contributed to the discussion which followed. Further publications on the subject soon appeared. In 1916, Sir Hercules Read, Vice-President of the Society of Antiquaries, wrote about a very ornate (and quite untypical) box of scales and weights, and around the same time M.S. Dudley Westropp read a paper on Irish coin-weights to the Royal Irish Academy.

The next steps were the result of the foresight and initiative of Thomas Sheppard of the Hull Museum, a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of the BNS. He began to form at Hull a collection of coin scales and weights which soon became the finest in the land. He spoke about the subject at the British Association meeting in 1918, and in the years 1920-23 he published many details of the Hull collection in the columns of *Spink's Numismatic Circular*. These articles were collected in a book, which also contained an extensive listing of weights compiled by Sheppard's colleague, J.T. Musham. For the last seventy years this book has been the primary source of information for students of English coin-weights and scales. It was reprinted in 1976, and soon sold out, so that second-hand copies of the reprint are now much sought after.

There are at least two mysteries associated with Sheppard and Musham's book. The first is the question of the missing plates. The preface and the list of illustrations for the original edition indicate clearly that four plates of coin-weights were to be included. But the book has no plates. Presumably the expense of producing them in 1923 could not be justified, which is a great pity, because there are some items that we should dearly love to see. The pity is the greater because the collection at Hull was lost when a bomb scored a direct hit on the Museum in the war of 1939-45. But therein lies the second mystery: what really did happen to those coin-weights? It is possible that an intense fire could have destroyed them, quite literally, but there have been rumours that some or all of them may have survived. It has even been suggested that they were officially recovered and transferred to another museum, without any record being made in the excitement of the time. The only certain thing is that the rumours will persist!

Apart from the collection at Hull, several other collections of coin-weights were being formed in the 1920s and 1930s. The collection now in the Ashmolean Museum appears to be based mainly on two private collections formed around this time, one of them by F.P. Barnard, the author of the standard work on reckoning counters. Probably as a result of the nineteenth century work on the subject in France, the Bibliothèque Nationale already had a cosmopolitan collection of coin-weights, including a good selection of English ones. Unfortunately, when Dieudonné wrote up the collection in 1925 he classified the weights according to the coins which they were intended to check, a

method which obscures much of the historical context and economic significance of the material.

The collection of W.V. Morten is mentioned several times in Sheppard and Musham's list, but nothing more is known about Morten or the fate of his collection. A better-known collector was V.B. Crowther-Beynon, President of the BNS in the 1930s, who published two articles on the subject in the *BNJ*. In the second one (1931) he refers in flattering terms to one other private collection, and mentions three 'considerable collections' which he had recently acquired himself. After Crowther-Beynon's death, his collection of weights passed to the British Museum, together with a number of scales and three manuscript note-books. These materials form the backbone of the current holdings at the British Museum.

Also in the 1930s, there was being formed the important collection of Richard Turner, sometime Mayor of Bedford. In 1936 he wrote an article on coin-weights, illustrated by two plates of photographs, for *Eagle*, the magazine of Bedford Modern School. Later in his long life (1881–1982) he contributed articles to *Libra*, the journal of the History Circle of the Weights and Measures Administration, and for many years he was regarded as the leading expert on the subject. After his death, his collection was dispersed, partly by private sale, but mainly through two auctions held by Boardman's of Haverhill in 1986. The entire collection may have included as many as a thousand 'loose' weights, as well as numerous boxes of scales and weights. Although its dispersal was regrettable, the availability of a good number of highly desirable pieces helped to sustain the growing interest in the subject. This process had in fact begun in the 1970s, when Seaby's listed a selection of coin-weights in their *Bulletin* on several occasions. There were also two substantial collections auctioned at Spink's (1979, no. 7 and 1981, no. 18).

The continuity of scholarship provided by Turner led others to take an interest in the subject, many of them from outside the mainstream of numismatics, and several from outside the UK. Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s, there were useful publications written by a number of people. Among them were, in no particular order: Ronald Stocks, Graham Dyer, George Mallis, Gerard Houben, Michael Crawforth, and Francis Lavagne. But at the time when the author of this review became interested in the subject (around 1982), the book of Sheppard and Musham was still the most comprehensive account available.

In an attempt to establish a historical and economic context for the entire sequence of English coin-weights, the reviewer wrote a series of nine articles for *Equilibrium*, the journal of the International Society of Antique Scale Collectors. This journal had been founded by Michael Crawforth and had already carried a number of articles on coin-weights, coin-scales and associated matters. The nine articles were published in the years 1986–88. As one critic was not slow to remark, these articles are 'diffuse and incomplete'. The intention was to lay the foundations for a more extensive study, and indeed the first part of that project was carried through, with the publication of a detailed study of the medieval period in the 1990 volume of the *BNJ*. Further work was

held over when it became known that Paul and Bente Withers had undertaken the mammoth task of photographing and cataloguing all the British coin-weights which were accessible to them. Clearly, any future work on the subject would have to use their tome as its primary source of artefactual material.

The publication of the book is thus a very welcome event. Indeed, it is everything that one could expect. Substantial (360 large pages), comprehensive (over 2,500 weights are included), well-illustrated (there is a high-quality photograph of almost every weight), and informative (documentary evidence and illustrations of coin-scales are liberally scattered among the descriptions of the weights themselves). The book covers all weights made in the British Isles and intended to be used for weighing coins that were in circulation in the British Isles, but not weights made abroad and intended for weighing British coins. This is the most rational way of defining what is meant by a British coin-weight. It works well in practice, with only a few doubtful cases, such as the weights made by John Kirk primarily for use in the colonies which may also have been used here. More significantly, it enables 'sets' of weights made here, and intended for weighing British and foreign coins which circulated together here, to be considered in their rightful context. The period covered is, roughly speaking, 1200–1900.

Although the primary aim of the book is to provide a comprehensive record of the weights, rather than a detailed analysis of their historical and economic context, there are several important areas where the authors have extended our knowledge of the background. For example, they have carried out a detailed study of the punches and dies used to produce the weights for guineas and pistoles used in the period around 1700. This indicates that the weights were probably made by not more than three manufacturers, even though there are many different varieties and the names of at least nine members of the Founders Company appear on them. Indeed, throughout the book there are many cross-references to the use of common punches for weights which, at first sight, appear to be unrelated. Another detailed study covers the various countermarks which are found on weights. This should provide the basis for more accurate dating of certain series, such as the late medieval crown-and-lis weights, and the eighteenth-century guinea weights stamped with the crown of the Official Stamper of Money Weights.

However, the reputation of the book will be built, not on such useful minor contributions to knowledge, but rather on the fact that it is, as its subtitle rightly proclaims, a *Corpus of British Coin-Weights*. Although some individual weights that are 'not in Withers' will certainly turn up, it is unlikely that there will be many new discoveries which change the overall picture. So the book is a sound foundation for future work. In his 1909 paper, Lawrence had somewhat rashly said that 'we have before us the weights themselves'. His inability, by his own admission, to draw any useful conclusions was mainly due to the inaccuracy of the claim at that time. Now, nearly a century later, we really do have the weights before us.

Historical Bibliography on British Coin-Weights

The items are listed in date order. The author will be delighted to learn of any items which have been overlooked, but please note that articles which are entirely concerned with coin-scales, rather than coin-weights, are omitted on purpose.

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- V.B. Crowther-Beynon, 'Notes on a collection of money-scales and other coin-weighing appliances', *BNJ* (1925-6), 183-192.
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- N.L. Biggs, 'English coin-weights', *Equilibrium* (1986-88), 879-884, 913-919, 951-954, 984-988, 1010-1016, 1040-1046, 1060-1066, 1079-1086, 1125-1132.
- N.L. Biggs, 'Coin-weights in England - up to 1588', *BNJ* 60 (1990), 65-79.
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NORMAN BIGGS

OBITUARIES

GORDON VINCENT DOUBLEDAY (1914–1993)

GORDON Doubleday passed away on 16 July 1993 at the age of 78 years. He was elected a member of the Society in February 1946 and as early as February 1947 exhibited 11 nobles and a half-noble from the Bredgar hoard, found in 1940 near his old home in Kent. He was soon active in the affairs of the Society and was elected to Council for 1948. He became Secretary, 1951–1954, Director, 1955–1956, a Vice-President, 1957–1990, and in 1991 was made an Honorary Member, of which he was very proud.

He soon became a personal friend of Albert Baldwin. My first recollection of him was in 1950 when, as an office boy, I joined Albert and a few friends on a private visit to the Royal Mint, courtesy of Mr Stride. Gordon was in the party, as was another fruit farmer, Col. Gordon Stevens, whose grandson, Paul Stevens, is a member of the Society today. Again in 1950, I was most impressed by his purchase of Dr L.A. Lawrence's collection of gold coins of Edward III – 245 specimens for 1,800 guineas, paid for with a cheque from his father, Sir Leslie. He was a meticulous researcher and record keeper and had a keen eye for detail, so much so he added a further 90 pieces to the gold collection and amassed nearly 1,100 silver coins of the reign, through the saleroom and by private treaty, in particular from Edgar Winstanley and W.J.W. Potter, this latter acquisition by trading most of his Lincoln pennies with Henry Mossop. In the post-war years he was able to acquire Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins from the many major collections that came on the market. His auction catalogues tell the tale. With his coins were offered his tickets, immediately recognisable in his so neat italic hand, but from his day book it is clear that this style of writing was started on 12 May 1953: hitherto it had been an illegible cursive script!

He ceased being very active in numismatics after 1960, 33 years ago now, which is why most members will know him only by name. He sold his English gold coins, including 13 of Edward III, in 1961, occasioned by the need of funds for school fees combined with poor apple crops, and his unrivalled collection of Edward III in 1972. As cataloguer, I always regret not having had special type made for the various stops, abbreviations, etc., in the legends. And in 1987–1988, he sold his comprehensive series of Anglo-Saxon and Norman coins, the last general collection of the series in private hands, certainly in this country, the collections of his friends and contemporaries having long since been dispersed. One thinks of Elmore Jones, John Youde, Dick Mack and Dimi Mangakis, to name but a few.

I had always understood that Gordon's health had suffered in the war. What I did not know is that at Charterhouse School he was a promising athlete and cricketer, but ill health caused him to leave school before fulfilling early promise. In fact, he underwent a series of painful operations, perhaps caused through boxing, which he bore with courage, so much so that in 1932 he was awarded the Cornwell Badge of the Boy Scouts Association, of which he was a King's Scout. He went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, to study medicine, but gave up to farm in Essex. As a member of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, he was commissioned in the Royal Navy in 1939 and served with small vessels, minesweepers and LSTs (Landing Ships, Tanks). He was involved in virtually every

evacuation and opposed landing in the European theatre, was captured in Norway and escaped. Just after D-Day, landing troops at Le Havre, his ship was mined and totally wrecked, the result of which it is believed that Gordon was unconscious for 24 hours. He was mentioned in despatches for his war service.

He did not publish anything in the Journal, but was always willing to show his coins to visitors. On one visit to Great Totham he told me that soon after leaving Charterhouse he was one of a small group who were given the task of finding a suitable retirement present for a long serving headmaster, Sir Frank Fletcher. Gordon hit upon the idea of a bust of the headmaster, and so got the job of commissioning an artist to undertake the work. Upon unveiling, the bust was by no means to everybody's taste, but as Gordon wistfully put it 'at nine guineas, it must be good value for an Epstein'. Art may be in the family genes, for Gordon's younger son is the sculptor, John Doubleday.

PETER MITCHELL

WILFRID SLAYTER (1914–1993)

WILFRID Slayter, Honorary Secretary of the Society from 1962–1990, died suddenly on 5 January 1993 at 63 West Way, Edgware, Middlesex, his home for many years and the best-known private address in British numismatics.

Wilfrid was by nature a reticent man, and rarely mentioned personal matters or even his day-to-day professional work. His friends knew little of his life outside the Society and the details mentioned here have been kindly provided by his brother and only sibling, Mr Eric Slayter. Wilfrid Slayter (he had no other names) was born at Highgate in north London in 1914. The oral tradition that he shared the Kaiser's birthday, with its amusing antithesis of character, proves to have been unreliable; Wilfrid was in fact born on the following day, 28 January. The family soon moved to nearby Hornsey where the sons were educated at Hornsey County School. Wilfrid's brother, his elder by about four years, recounts their shared school-boy delight in collecting, beginning with stamps but soon encompassing 'anything and everything as long as it was old'. This interest was fostered, not to say indulged, by their school-teacher parents who made over to the boys a special room in their house equipped with some display cases in which to create their own museum. They accumulated all manner of ancient artifacts, weapons, pictures, pieces of pottery – even a few coins, although these were not specially favoured at the time. Old books had a particular attraction and Wilfrid's most prized possession was an annotated prayer book which had belonged to a soldier in Cromwell's army, discovered on one of their numerous forays into Charing Cross Road.

On leaving school, Wilfrid worked for several local dispensing chemists before joining Warman Freed in Golders Green, also in north London, where he was employed for many years until his retirement in the early 1980s. The formal date is blurred, even in family recollection because, for some time afterwards, he used to return on a part-time basis to stand in for absent colleagues. Wilfrid never married but shared with his parents the house at Edgware which they had purchased in 1936. After his mother's death, Wilfrid lived on there with his father whom he looked after with great devotion, and latterly alone. His only recorded pet was a tortoise named John Henry who lived to a great age. Wilfrid's sole interest apart from the Society was his work on behalf of the League of Friends of Edgware General Hospital.

In adult life, Wilfrid's collecting focused on coins (although what determined this choice is not clear) and especially on the British milled series. His early bibliophile interests and his fascination with the personalities of history both remained with him, and he formed an extensive collection of books, letters and other items which had belonged to famous numismatists of the past. In his will he bequeathed his copy of Brooke's *Norman Kings* from the author's personal library to the British Museum, and many of his other books to the Society. Wilfrid was responsible for the revision of the volume on 'Numismatics' in the *Teach Yourself* series, and wrote a number of reviews and the occasional obituary for the Society's *Journal*. Otherwise he published little, for he was not a scholar, but made a unique contribution to furthering the cause of coinage studies through his long service to the British Numismatic Society.

Wilfrid joined the Society in 1946. He was a loyal supporter of its meetings, and was elected to the Council in 1951 and again in 1960, but he was known to comparatively few until he became the secretary two years later. In Wilfrid, the Society had a most dedicated, hard-working and efficient officer. Membership totals rose steadily from 341 when he took over to 555 when he retired. Keeping track of this increasing and world-wide clientele was for

him a most enjoyable part of the job, but it was none-the-less a time-consuming, and sometimes delicate, task. During his twenty-eight-year tenure, other aspects of the secretary's duties were also becoming more onerous and the Society itself had to surmount some serious problems, all of which made heavy demands on the secretary. Wilfrid served with eight Presidents and many other officers, all of whom have been united in their praise of his selfless work and unwavering support.

For many of its members, especially those resident overseas who could not attend its meetings, Wilfrid Slayter became the personification of the British Numismatic Society. He must have signed innumerable nomination papers 'from personal knowledge' and if that was only minimally true at the outset it soon became established fact for, despite a rather formal manner in both personal and written communication, Wilfrid's natural kindness shone through and he achieved an easy rapport with people of all ages and conditions. He was the longest-serving officer in the Society's history, and was still a Council member at the time of his death. He claimed that in his membership of the Society extending over nearly forty-seven years he had failed to attend only one meeting and that because of illness – another record which will almost certainly remain unique to him.

The Society's debt to Wilfrid was acknowledged in 1978 when it presented him with a special variant of its 75th Anniversary Medal and, in 1983, when he was made an Honorary Member. Although this relieved him of the obligation to pay the annual fee, such was his devotion to the Society that he continued to make a donation of it every year until his death. A more personal token of members' appreciation and regard was the subscription raised for him at the time of his retirement from the secretaryship in 1990. The same occasion was also marked by the presentation to Wilfrid of the only silver cast of a portrait medal commissioned by past and present officers of the Society who had served with him. Designed by Robert Elderton and produced by the Royal Mint, the medal gave Wilfrid enormous pleasure and all who knew him were delighted with its excellent and sympathetic likeness.

Loyalty was one of the keynotes of Wilfrid's character; to the Society, to his friends, and to the ideals and standards of the England in which he had grown up. It extended even to material things like his faithful typewriter with its large, old-fashioned, letters and mis-aligned keys on which he would compose his brief, almost staccato, notes to fellow officers and other correspondence. Wilfrid's outlook on life was generally serious, but when he could be persuaded to reminisce about the personalities of the Society in the past he would suddenly become animated, and his face would light up with a boyishly mischievous grin, as he related tales of their doings and of their foibles. Wilfrid's natural inclination was to take a generous view of people and situations whenever possible, but he could be very forthright in expressing his opinion of those whom he considered had overstepped the mark, or about proposals which were not, as he saw them, in the best interests of his beloved Society.

There was hardly a numismatic gathering in London for nearly thirty years which Wilfrid did not attend *ex officio* for, in his quiet way, he enjoyed parties and the warmth of his reception. It was a measure of the respect and affection in which he was held that the invitations continued to pour in after he had retired, and when organisers knew that advancing years would not always permit him to attend. Wilfrid's kindly presence will be sorely missed by a wide circle of friends at these events, but most of all at the monthly meetings of the British Numismatic Society which had been the very heart of his existence.

MARION ARCHIBALD

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1993

The President, Dr C.E. Challis, was in the chair at all meetings, which were held in the Warburg Institute.

26 JANUARY 1993. Mr M.D. King was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr E.M. Besly read a paper entitled 'The Royalist mint at Truro and Exeter, 1642-6'.

23 FEBRUARY 1993. Messrs R.C. Churchill, M.B. O'Bee and C.R. Stueve were elected to Ordinary Membership. Professor J.A. Graham-Campbell read a paper entitled 'Viking-Age "ring money" in Britain and Ireland'.

23 MARCH 1993. Mr C.D. Lloyd was elected to Junior Membership. Dr D.C.A. Shotton read a paper entitled 'The Roman occupation of north-west England: the coin evidence'.

27 APRIL 1993. Mr K.M. Berriman was elected to Ordinary Membership. The President presented the Council's Prize to Dr B.J. Cook. Mr M.A.S. Blackburn read a paper entitled 'Coinage under Stephen and the survival of government'.

25 MAY 1993. Mr G.L. Cottam was elected to Ordinary Membership and the Department of Numismatics, Manchester Museum, to Institutional Membership. The President was presented with the Sanford Saltus medal. Dr J.D. Bateson read a paper entitled 'The 1991 Kelso Treasure Trove' followed by Mr P.J. Preson-Morley on 'The East India Company portcullis money of 1600'.

22 JUNE 1993. Mr E. von Geldern was elected to Ordinary Membership and the King Fahd National Library, Saudi Arabia, to Institutional Membership. Professor J.P. Mass read a paper entitled 'Towards a new system of classification in Short Cross la'.

28 SEPTEMBER 1993. Mr K. Clancy and Dr B. Robinson were elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr G.C. Boon read a paper entitled 'Welsh Silver and the feathers coinage, 1671-1731'.

26 OCTOBER 1993. Messrs P. Comet, S.E. Evans, G.A. Haygarth and R. Schembre were elected to Ordinary Membership and the Blackburn Museum and Art Galleries to Institutional Membership. Mr N.J. Mayhew read a paper entitled 'Scottish Medieval exchange rates'.

23 NOVEMBER 1993. Professor J.D. Robinson was elected to Ordinary Membership and the Indiana University Library to Institutional Membership. The following officers and Council were elected for 1994:

<i>President:</i>	G.P. Dyer
<i>Vice Presidents:</i>	C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby and P. Woodhead
<i>Director:</i>	B.T. Curtis
<i>Treasurer:</i>	T.G. Webb Ware
<i>Librarian:</i>	T.J. Robertson
<i>Secretary:</i>	J.D. Bateson
<i>Council:</i>	M.R. Allen, E.M. Besly, J. Bispham, M.A.S. Blackburn, C.E. Challis, C.H. Comber, B.J. Cook, M.I.H. Ewing, S.M. Greenall, A.J. Holmes, N.M. McQ. Holmes, J.E. Roberts- Lewis, J.G. Scott and D. Symons.

Council's proposal that the subscriptions for 1994 should remain unchanged at £24 for Ordinary Members and £10 for Junior Members was approved.

The President, Dr C.E. Challis, then delivered his Presidential Address.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I have audited the Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account by reference to the books and records of the Society and supporting information and explanations.

In my opinion these financial statements are in accordance with those records and correctly show the state of the Society's Fund as at 31st October 1992 and of the Surplus of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

R.A. MERSON, FCA
Honorary Auditor

Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1992

1991		1992	
£	£	£	£
GENERAL PURPOSES FUND			
20,300			23,551
3,251			3,904
<u>£23,551</u>			<u>£27,455</u>

*Income and Expenditure Account
for the year ended 31 October 1992*

1991		1992	
£	£	£	£
	INCOME		
	Subscriptions and Entrance		
8,814	Fees received for 1992		10,947
5,943	and earlier years		5,249
72	Interest received		372
	Donations		
	Sale of Publications:		
31	Backnumbers	1,085	
546	Contents Listing	190	
—	Carausius & Allectus	25	1,300
1,686	Sale of BNS Medal		155
17,092			18,023
	<i>Less: EXPENDITURE</i>		
200	Sanford Saltus Medal	658	
120	Printing, Postage and Stationery	181	
1,011	BNS Medal expenses	153	
68	Library – Purchases	113	
465	Binding	445	
423	Expenses	186	744
41	Carausius & Allectus	—	
705	Contents Listing	190	
151	Sundries	373	
3,184		2,299	
	<i>British Numismatic Journal 62</i>		
10,500	Provision towards cost	12,800	
(157)	<i>Less: Overprovision for prior</i>		
	Journals	980	
			11,820
13,841			14,119
£3,251	EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE		£3,904

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS 1993

C.E. CHALLIS

TONIGHT, as the fifth and final year of my Presidency draws to a close, the Society has (allowing for the eight amovements just announced) 406 ordinary, 3 junior and 123 institutional members, or 532 in all. This compares favourably with the figure of 513 for my first year and it is in part I feel sure a pleasing reflection of Council's continuing concern actively to support the study of British numismatics in every way that it possibly can. It was with this aim very firmly in mind that in March Council agreed to underwrite part of the cost of circulating three times a year the newsletter of the Coordinating Committee for Numismatics in Britain, and has gone on to offer the Society as host for the BANS Congress in 1994. This will take place at Ramsay Hall, University College, London, between 8 and 10 April and a full and interesting programme has already been arranged.

In the last year we have lost five members through death: Mr Maurice Stanley Rolfe, of Southend, who had been a member since 1938; Mr John Charles Freeman, member of the Faculty of Law, King's College, London, who was elected in 1957; Mons. Emile Bourgey, a member since 1950 who lived in Paris where he was a leading dealer; Mr Wilfrid Slayter and Mr Gordon Doubleday. Of these five the first three were never members of Council whereas the other two most certainly were and each in his own way played a unique part in the running of our affairs. Wilfrid, our former Secretary, was cremated at Hendon on Friday, 15 January, and it was wholly fitting that the Society should have been represented not simply by myself but also by four of our Vice-Presidents, several of the officers, and others of our membership. Many of you will recall from the words which were spoken in 1978 when we presented Wilfrid with a special version of the Society's 75th Anniversary medal, and more recently in 1990, when we gave him his own portrait medal, how very much we owed to Wilfrid. For the better part of three decades he worked tirelessly in our cause, and did so with a quiet unassuming assurance. Just how selfless he was, and how little he expected or sought the plaudits of others, came home very forcefully after his funeral when I engaged his great niece in conversation. She knew that somewhere he had a few coins but had no idea whatsoever of how much he had done for us and that in consequence we had honoured him in the way that we had. It was with characteristic generosity that Wilfrid remembered in his will the Society he had so loyally served (and which for all the time I knew him had formed such a prominent part of his life) by bequeathing to us his numismatic books and papers, his 1978 medal and £2,000. We can only guess at the pleasure he would have felt had he been here to learn that subsequently Council agreed to my suggestion that, in order to assist a great institution in need of numismatic literature, we donate his run of our *Journal*, suitably attributed with book plates, to the Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg.

Of Mr Doubleday, who died on 16 July aged seventy-eight, we saw nothing in recent years; nevertheless, he maintained his connection with the Society to the end, being a Vice-President from 1957 to 1980 and an Honorary Member from 1991. First elected to Council in 1948, he served as Secretary from 1951 to 1954 and as Director from 1955 to 1956. Vice-President Mitchell very kindly represented the Society at his funeral.

To all the Councillors and officers who have served in the last year I extend a warm word of thanks not simply for their ready attendance at meetings but for the wealth of sound advice they have offered me whenever I have asked and the unfailing goodwill they have brought to all our proceedings. It is particularly pleasing to see that our finances remain so sound and that our *Journal* maintains a high scholarly standard. In recent years we have been particularly fortunate in having Dr Cook and Mr Besly as our Editors and, just as three years ago Council awarded the latter its prize partly in recognition of his editorial achievements, so this year in April, again partly for the same reason, we honoured Dr Cook.

Once again, our lectures have been well attended, a tribute to our Director's skill in providing us with a wide-ranging and scholarly programme; and, once again, we enjoyed an excellent special meeting, this time at the National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, where the theme was 'Britain and the Severans'. Thirty-three people attended, Dr Burnett very kindly acted as Chairman for the day, Mr Jones entertained us afterwards to tea in his office and it was my very real pleasure to offer a vote of thanks for what all participants judged to have been a thoroughly worthwhile day.

Although I was unable to attend the annual BANS Congress this year, I did try to get out and about by lecturing, first, on 10 June, on 'The Coinage of Edward VI' to the Wessex Numismatic Society and, second, on 14 July, on 'The Coinage of Henry VII' at the Tenth Harlaxton Symposium organised by the University of Evansville - British Campus - at Harlaxton College. On Saturday, 4 September, I attended the BANS lecture course held at Hertford College, Oxford, where I gave the vote of thanks for the Royal Mint lecture. The third in the series this lecture was given by Professor Vicky Bruce, professor of psychology at Sterling University, who told us about the research she had conducted for the Royal Mint some years ago into the shape, size and weight of modern coins, focussing especially on the new £1 and 20p pieces. Like her predecessors as Royal Mint lecturers, Mary Milner Dickens and

Raphael Maklouf, Professor Bruce brought a refreshing new light to bear on our subject and fully justified the Royal Mint's sponsorship.

During the year our Archive has grown thanks to the kindness of the executors of Peter Seaby and Wilfrid Slayter, and the diligence of our Secretary and Miss Archibald. We have also established a Benevolent Fund which will combine the bequests recently made by Helen Frizell and Wilfrid Slayter and which will enable us to support on an *ad hoc* basis such activities as Council, from time to time, deems worthwhile. The first beneficiaries of the Fund were the participants at the Edinburgh Conference who enjoyed a modest subsidy on the buffet meal provided at lunchtime.

My final comments concern the John Sanford Saltus Medal: first, because at its October meeting Council agreed to revised rules governing its award, which will be published in due course; and, second, because a year ago you were generous enough to award it to me. I have enjoyed my membership of the Society, for not only have you flattered me with your friendship but you have undergirded that friendship with unfailing support – for a decade when I was your Editor and for five years more as your President. As I said when the medal was presented to me in May, I had no right to expect it; nevertheless, it is a prize in which I delight. It is twenty-one years since I joined our Society and there could be no more memorable way of celebrating my coming of age.

As in previous years I shall omit here the recital of hoards found in the United Kingdom during the past year but will ensure that a full list appears when this Address is published.

[The list which follows was very kindly supplied by Dr Bateson, Mr Besly and Dr Cook]

SCOTLAND

None.

WALES

Llanddeiniolen, Gwynedd. 25 denarii and radiates, 1 sestertius, AD 256.

ENGLAND

Iron Age

Butser Hill, Hants. 6 Gallo-Belgic C gold staters.
 Buxton with Lammas, Norfolk (addenda). 2 Gallo-Belgic E gold staters.
 Little Totham, Essex. 2 gold staters of Addedomarus.
 Essendon, Herts. 153 gold staters and quarter staters, plus other objects, AD 43.
 Pershore, Worcs. c.17 gold and c.1,450 silver coins of the Dobunni.
 Cheriton, Wilts. (addenda). 7 gold staters and 2 quarter staters.

Roman

Membury, Wilts. (addenda). 3 silver denarii, AD 37.
 Needham, Norfolk. 8 silver denarii, AD 61.
 Roxby, South Humberside. 30 bronze asses, c.AD 96.
 Washington, West Sussex. 8 silver denarii, AD 134.
 Marlingford, Norfolk (addenda). 6 silver denarii, AD 172.
 Near Bridport, Dorset. 47 bronze sestertii, c.AD 180.
 Postwick, Norfolk (addenda). 14 silver denarii, AD 192.
 Near Kenilworth, Warwks. 42 silver denarii, AD 205.
 Morton, Derby (addenda). 60 denarii, AD 210.
 Near Doncaster, South Yorks. c.3,300 base silver radiates, ?270–90.
 Durrington, Wilts. 3,967 base silver and bronze, c.330.
 Chapmanslade, Wilts. c.5,300 bronze, c.341.
 Killingholme, South Humberside. c.3,800 bronze, c.341–8.
 Shuttington, Warwks. 158 bronze, 348.
 Burgate, Suffolk (addenda). 30 silver siliquae, c.402.
 Cattal, North Yorks. 16 silver siliquae, 402.
 Blagan Hill, Wilts. 1 gold, 1,646 silver and 5,535 bronze, 402.
 Deopham, Norfolk. 26 gold solidi and 4 silver siliquae, 402.
 Good Easter, Essex. 6 gold solidi, 405.

Medieval and Modern

Woodham Walter, Essex. 114 Anglo-Saxon sceattas, c.730.

Eynesford, Kent. 11 silver, Stephen, BMC 1, 1141.

Near Box, Wilts. 88 silver, Stephen and Robert of Gloucester, 1140s.

Wainfleet, Lincs. Short Cross, 380 pennies and 3 cut halfpennies, classes I–IVa.

Eynesford, Kent. 8 silver, Edward II–Edward III, latest coin 1369–77.

Hill Deverill, Wilts. 5 gold and 56 silver, Edward II–Richard II, latest coins 1377–99.

Mendelsham, Suffolk. 28 silver, Edward III–Henry VII, latest coin 1486–1504.

Middleham, North Yorks. 5,098 silver, Edward VI–Charles I, 1640s.

Burton Overy, Leics. 282 silver, James I–Charles II, latest coin 1673.

THE coinage of Edward VI upon which I wish to speak in the second part of my Address is the fine silver issued pursuant to the commission of 5 October 1551. The ostensible fineness was 11 oz 1 dwt and the weight of the shilling 96 grains. Though customarily unesteemed by numismatists, this issue is, nevertheless, of considerable historical interest: partly because it has the highest silver standard of any in the Tudor period, and partly because the king himself was party to its planning.

Everyone knows that, time out of mind, the traditional standard of English silver coin was sterling, i.e. 11 oz 2 dwt fine, and this being so it may at first sight seem puzzling that in giving the fineness of the 1551 issue at 11 oz 1 dwt I should say that this was in fact the finest silver issued at any time during the Tudor period. However, as those of you will know who are familiar with my exposition of the dispute in the 1580s between Richard Martin, master-worker and warden of the Tower Mint, and Thomas Keeling, assay master at Goldsmiths' Hall, London, there is in reality no contradiction at all. Traditionally, the fineness of silver had always been expressed in terms of the silver and alloy which had been put into the melting pot – 11 oz 2 dwt of fine silver and 18 dwt of copper – but in 1551 it was expressed in terms of an alternative convention which had been introduced during the debasement period as the standard which came 'out of the fire', i.e. which emerged by assay after the melting. Since contemporary assayers were agreed that in any assay 2 dwt of silver 'lay "hid from report" for the simple reason that it had drained away with the impurities into the cupel', it followed that 11 oz 2 dwt at the comixture would report as 11 oz out of the fire, while 11 oz 1 dwt out of the fire would be the equivalent of 11 oz 3 dwt at the comixture. The 1551 standard was, then, unique; and it is frustrating indeed that while Thomas Stanley, assay master in the Tower at the time of issue, clearly recognised it as such, he failed, as did other contemporary commentators, to spell out why this should have been so.¹

In turning to the part which the king played in the 1551 issue of fine coins, let us note first of all that, notwithstanding the publication of a great deal of valuable work since the Second World War, the popular image of King Edward VI, who reigned from 1547 to 1553, is all too often that of a sickly child. 'Edward would have become eighteen, the usual age of royal majority, in October 1555: and what we know of him suggests that he would then have taken over direction of affairs and have managed them as personally and as purposefully as his father and grandfather had done. But from early in his reign it became doubtful whether he would live so long, and the problem of the succession acquired an urgency which only increased with the deterioration in the King's health.'² These words, written by the late Professor Bindoff in 1953 epitomise such a view and stand in marked contrast to those of the late Professor Jordan who depicted Edward as enjoying 'normal health throughout his

¹ C.E. Challis, 'Lord Hastings to the Great Silver Recoinage, 1464–1699', in *A New History of the Royal Mint*, edited by C.E. Challis (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 262–66.

² S.T. Bindoff, 'A Kingdom at Stake, 1553', in *Conflicts in Tudor and Stuart England*, edited by J. Roots (1967), p. 41. Originally published in *History Today*, III (1953), 642–8.

childhood and boyhood'.³ In his later years, according to the Venetian ambassador, Edward 'soon commenced arming and tilting, managing horses, and delighting in every sort of exercise, drawing the bow, playing rackets, hunting, and so forth'; according to the Imperial ambassador, he also fenced.⁴

In fact, Edward only fell seriously ill for the first time in April 1552 from what he himself diagnosed as a combination of measles and smallpox. From this first setback he seems to have made a complete recovery and it was not until mid-February 1553 that once again his health gave cause for concern. What had begun as a cold deteriorated rapidly: during the whole of March he did not leave his room and was so weak and thin 'that the doctors warned that any change in his limited routine would place his life in great danger'.⁵ In April and early May he rallied, but quickly relapsed at the end of the month in what were the final stages of pulmonary tuberculosis. He died on 6 July 1553 three months short of his sixteenth birthday.

Throughout, Edward's reign was a minority in which we can distinguish two quite distinct periods of influence: that of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset; and that of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland. Interpretations of these two periods, like views on Edward's health, have varied widely. The old Pollardian view, is that of a good duke being followed by a Machiavellian Northumberland. More recent scholars have tended to rehabilitate Northumberland and be more critical of Somerset.

There are also clear disagreements on just what was the role of the king during these years. Professor Jordan, whom I have already mentioned, saw the development of Edward into a young man visibly reaching out for power and, until the onset of his fatal disease in 1553, well on course for achieving it. To him, the numerous political papers and unique diary or chronicle which the king compiled are evidence not only of Edward's ability but also of his growing political influence. In Edward was a true potential for greatness: in 1553 he stood on the threshold of power.⁶

To Dr Hoak, nothing could be further from the truth. He sees Edward in the traditional schoolboy picture, the godly imp, far removed from any real governmental participation. A puppet, cunningly manipulated by Northumberland, as seen in the staged meetings of the mysterious Council for the State, and the control exercised by Sir John Gates over the young king. Edward did little, if anything, on his own initiative, and merely transcribed what was put in front of him: 'this bright, pathetic lad was in fact the manipulated one, more the parrot of Northumberland's plans than the Renaissance prodigy of legend'.⁷

In deciding which of these two views is the more acceptable, the evidence concerning the coinage is of particular relevance. There are three quite distinct aspects to be considered, all three being mentioned in the king's own diary or *Chronicle*, a document which begins nominally at Edward's birth, but which from about March 1550 become almost a day-to-day record of events, before ending suddenly on 30 November 1552 for reasons which are unexplained.⁸

The first is the agreement made by the government with Sir John York, under-treasurer at Southwark, on 30 September 1550 whereby he was to supply the Mints with bullion and make repayment of the Crown's debts on the Continent. In the king's words

It was agreed that [Sir John] York, master of one of the mints at the Tower should make this bargain with me, viz: To make the profit of (~~my crossed out~~) silver rising of the bullion that he himself brought, [he] should

³ W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: the Threshold of Power* (1970), p. 423.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, V, 535; *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, X, 592; cited by Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp. 402-3, 420-21.

⁵ Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp. 510-12.

⁶ Jordan, *Edward VI*, pp. 419-23.

⁷ D.E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 265.

⁸ Note: The last entry, for 28 November 1552, is misplaced. *The Chronicle and Political Papers of King Edward VI*, edited by W.K. Jordan (1966).

pay all my debts, to the sum of £120,000 or above, and remain accountable for the overplus, paying no more than 6s and 6d the ounce, till the exchange were equal in Flanders, and after [ward] 6s and 2d. Also that he should declare all his bargains to any [who] should be appointed for to oversee him and leave off when I would. For which I should give him £15,000 in prest [-money] and leave to carry £8,000 overseas to abase the exchange.

This exposition of what was intended is the fullest to be found in any contemporary source of which I am aware and, notwithstanding that Edward VI is 'insufficiently explicit for us to be sure of the precise way in which the scheme was to function, that it did so is beyond question'.⁹

The second issue which should engage our attention is the decision in April 1551 to introduce a silver coinage 3 oz fine out of the fire, the lowest standard during the whole debasement period. The order for the mints at Southwark and in the Tower to proceed went out on the fourteenth; on the tenth the king had recorded 'it was appointed to make twenty thousand pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, [in order] to get gains [of] £160,000 clear, by which the debt of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt and the coin amended'. Traditionally, these words have received a bad press from historians and numismatists alike because, having failed to fathom the young king's meaning, they have attributed that failure not to their own shortcomings but to Edward's inability to understand and accurately record what he had heard. If this view were correct there could, in fact, be no clearer evidence against the case for Edward VI having a clear grasp of the affairs of State. But the king was not mistaken in what he recorded. As I have calculated elsewhere, if one assumes that the 20,000 lbs of metal alluded to by King Edward as being made into the new coinage was actually fine silver, it follows that it would represent approximately 80,000 lbs of silver 3 oz fine out of the fire which, valued at 72s per lb as was stipulated in the commission, would have had a face value of £288,000. Since the silver for this coinage was bought at 10s per oz, 20,000 lbs would have cost £120,000 and, if we allow £8,000 for the cost of coinage, this would indeed leave £160,000 'clear', i.e. net profit, just as Edward recorded.¹⁰

In 1551, then, just as in the previous year, the *Chronicle* is prime evidence on the matter of the coinage and we can show beyond peradventure that what Edward VI said concerning the worst debased silver coins was correct. This being so, it seems to me that we have clear support for two notions. First, Edward VI was not just 'bright' but highly intelligent and sufficiently well trained to be able to grasp a complex issue, even when that issue was as difficult as the coinage; and, second, Edward VI was not just a 'puppet' manipulated by the real decision takers who only fed him with what they wanted; rather he was someone who really was caught up with the great affairs of the day. Had it been otherwise, he could not have known and recorded what he did.

It is because I take the more optimistic view of Edward VI that I incline to take at face value what contemporary documents tell us about his personal involvement in the planning of the fine silver issue of 1551. This time the evidence does not come from Edward's *Chronicle*, for there (under 24 September 1551) we read simply:

Agreed that the stamp of the shilling and sixpence should be: of [on] one side a king painted to the shoulders, in Parliament robes, and with a chain of the Order; five shillings, of silver, and half-five shillings, should be a king on horseback armed, with a naked sword hard to his breast. Also that York's mint, and Throckmorton's mint in the Tower, should go and work the fine standard. In the city of York and Canterbury should the small money be wrought of a baser state. Officers for the same were appointed.

⁹ C.E. Challis, *The Tudor Coinage* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 177-78.

¹⁰ Challis, *The Tudor Coinage*, pp. 107-8.

Nor does it come from the *Acts of the Privy Council*, which record only (under 25 September 1551) the sending of 'a letter to Mr Pekham as by the minute thereof appeareth'.¹¹ It is this letter which contains the information which is of interest to us and, fortunately, it has survived in draft amongst the State Papers.¹² Let me quote it in full.

Privy Council to Sir Edmund Pekham, 25 September 1551

After our very hearty commendations, you shall understand that upon our coming to the Court we have made declaration to the King's majesty and the rest of the Council of our conferences with you touching the amendment of the coin and establishing the same in fineness. Which thing as it is of itself of much worthiness so does his majesty most earnestly desire the furtherance and advancement of the same for the which cause we have thought meet to participate unto you his pleasure and resolution as follows:

As to the patterns of the coins, his majesty likes best those patterns both of the 12d and of the 6d which have their signs not in arithmetic cypher but in this manner. XII. and VI. and have the parliament robe with the collar of the order; and in the style of the pattern of VI this word HIBERN is written HIBEN which must be amended making the N.a[n] R.

The King's majesty also, and we, think that his majesty's face will not be well expressed wholly and totally in the coin and, therefore, you shall do well to express in the coin three parts of the face [*crossed out* after 'also and we' – doubt that as the face of his majesty is in the pattern wholly set out it will not be so well expressed in the stamp and the coin and therefore we pray you to have good consideration hereof and except you shall think it will show as well in the coins as it seemeth to be in the patterns, we think it shall do better to be so ordered as the face may be set forth with 3 parts of the whole].

The agreement to have the standard of 11 oz fine for the 12d and 6d pleases his majesty very well and of the same standard his majesty's pleasure is to have also 2 other coins, one of 5s and one other of 2s 6d. Of the which coins his majesty would you should (when you shall begin) coin a small number to see a proof thereof, the pattern whereof we send you herewith noted by his majesty's own hand with the cypher of 5. (being the lowest pattern of 4 on a card of 3 of the spades).^{*} And on the other side of the 5s to put the cross which shall be upon the 12d and upon the 2s 6d the cross which shall be upon the 6d. The other standard also for the small moneys, viz. 1d and ½d, to be of 4 oz fine his majesty well likes and would have also of the same standard a coin of [a] ¼d. And, therefore, we most earnestly require you to cause all good speed to be had that may be for the graving and sinking of the irons and prints of all these said coins, viz. of the standard of 11 oz fine the coins of 5s, 2s 6d, 12d and 6d, and of the other standard of 4 oz fine the coins of 1d, ½d and ¼d, and if Derryck shall be found fit for the graving then we would he were appointed with John Lawrence, being named by you and others for a cunning sinker. And if Derryck be not fit therefore then to certify us of your opinions.

Concerning those which shall be in commission for these purposes, these be to let you understand that the King's majesty's pleasure is that for the coinage of the fine Sir John York and Mr Nicholas Thockmorton's deputy, whose name you shall know shortly, shall be in commission. And for the small moneys George Gale at York and Lawrence Warren at Canterbury. And therefore we would also speed were made with making the minutes of these commissions and further to put into the same commissions authority for the other officers requisite hereto, taking the same men which have served last heretofore, except some of them shall be thought not convenient and in that case we would you also certified us of such as you shall think meter for the same and of any other things requisite to the furtherance hereof.

And the said minutes being sent to us we shall shortly return you commissions for your proceeding and answers also to your desires. We shall also shortly resolve upon a man fit for the receipt of such moneys as shall be employed in the coinage of the small moneys, and your other coins which you made for proofs we shall deliver to you at our next coming thither.

In summary, what we learn from the letter of Sir Edmund, who was high treasurer of all the Mints, is as follows. First, the king has come down in favour of the patterns which expressed the denomination in Roman rather than Arabic numerals. Incidentally, I have found amongst the coins in the Winchester cabinet at the University of Leeds, an odd example of a sixpence

¹¹ Jordan, *Chronicle*, p. 83; *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, edited by J.R. Dasent (1891), III, 364.

¹² Public Record Office, London. SP 10/13 no. 47 fo. 93. There is now an admirable new calendar of these papers which all students of the period must be grateful for. *Calendar of State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office. Domestic Series:*

Edward VI, 1547–1553, edited by C.S. Knighton (1992). However, it should be noted that in respect of this particular letter I have begged to disagree with the editor both on what the insertion made by Cecil says and on where it should come.

^{*}a marginal insertion in the hand of William Cecil, secretary of state.

of this issue which has no numeral at all; but this, I believe, has been tampered with. The explanation of this is suggested by the coinage of 1549 in which the shillings 6 oz fine, out of the fire, had had a similar flan size to a half-sovereign. The legends of the two coins were not identical and the half-sovereign had a crowned rather than an uncrowned garnished shield, but otherwise the two were so alike that by gilding the shilling a very passable half-sovereign could be made. There is contemporary warrant from the reign of Elizabeth to show that such gilding actually did take place.¹³ With these facts in mind, if one looks again at the Winchester piece one does not need too much of an eye of faith to see that the slight depression where the numeral should have stood is evidence of the VI being tooled away, as has the rose, and, further, that the traces of gold to be found in various places are all that remain of what was once a fully gilded coin. The puzzle is, which gold coin was the gilder aiming at? In 1549 the fit between the shilling and the half-sovereign had been close; in 1551 gold and silver coins were different in almost every particular. Judged purely on weight, the nearest gold coin to a sixpence (48 gr) would have been a 22 c gold crown (43.65gr).

The second way in which the Privy Council letter to Sir Edmund Pekham tells us that the king has personally been involved in the design of the 1551 fine issue is the king's correction of the engraver's Latin, changing HIBEN to HIBER. This reading comes not on the shillings and sixpences I have seen but on the crowns and half-crowns. I say 'which I have seen' because I have not yet had the benefit of a sight of two shillings in Mr Bispham's collection, to which he has kindly drawn my attention, which do indeed read HIBER.

Third, the king, supported by the Privy Council, has decided that the full-face portrait on the patterns will not do, and argues for a three-quarter face portrait. Full-face portraits had been tried by his father, with hardly flattering effect, and Henry VIII's three-quarter portraits were hardly better, standing in marked contrast to the profile busts on his earlier coins. Edward VI had also had various profile busts and was to have a half-bust portrait on the sovereigns of this issue.

It was a three-quarter profile which Edward in fact preferred for his larger silver coins and in this he may well have been influenced by the portrait now in the Queen's Collection at Hampton Court for which he sat at approximately this time.

The fourth point which comes out of the Privy Council letter is that Edward has agreed to an 11 oz standard for the shilling and sixpence. Note that, if this was 'out of the fire', the standard was still intended to be sterling at the comixture. This may have been a slip; alternatively, it may indicate that the move to 11 oz 1 dwt, out of the fire, came at a very late date indeed.

Fifthly, we learn that it was the king's own decision to introduce the crown and the half-crown and that he himself had drawn a design. Whether that which finally emerged was his in every particular we do not know, but certain it is that the form of the numeral five used in the date was his alone. The letter, as we have just seen, specified this as being that on 'the lowest pattern of 4 on a card of 3 of the spades'. Despite my best endeavours I have not seen such a card, but the letter has the shape, which tallies exactly with that on the coins. Incidentally, this reference by Edward to playing cards should not surprise. Since their introduction into Europe in the late fourteenth century, their use had spread, not least at the English Court. Henry VII played cards, as did his fourteen-year-old daughter, Margaret, queen of Scots. Edward's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, did the same.¹⁴ Indeed so popular were cards that Hugh Latimer, the future bishop of Worcester, could in 1529 build reference to them into his sermon, to give force to his imagery.

¹³ C.E. Challis, 'The Early Story', in *Royal Sovereign, 1489-1989*, edited by G.P. Dyer (Royal Mint, 1989), p. 30.

¹⁴ W.A. Chatto, *Facts and Speculations on the Origin and History of Playing Cards* (1848), pp. 60, 97-98, 108-9, 120.

And for because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done. I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the triumph [a kind of whist], which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.¹⁵

In suggesting that the cross ends on the crown be the same as those on the shilling while those on the half-crown should be the same as those on the sixpence, Edward appears to be suggesting that the two should differ. If so, his wishes were ignored, for all the cross ends, so far as I am aware, are the same. These neat, uncluttered ends were in contrast to those of his father's reign and his own, earlier years.

Finally, in telling us that Edward VI had agreed to an issue at 4 oz fine of pence and halfpence at York and Canterbury and wanted the farthing also to be added, the Privy Council letter at once confirms and confuses. It confirms in the sense that we know that there was a commission to York on 17 December 1551 to coin at 4 oz fine and, although that commission appears not to be extant, we do have York base pence of Edward, *mm* mullet.

It confuses in that no halfpence or farthings are known for York, and we have no evidence whatsoever of a base issue in any denomination at Canterbury. We should also note that neither the Privy Council letter, nor any other source, discloses why the fine threepence and penny were struck at the Tower and the fine sixpence and threepence at York, even though these do not figure in the extant commission of 5 October 1551.

Thus, loose ends concerning Edward VI's last issues remain to be tied up and we still await a full die study. None the less, I hope I have said enough this evening to convince you that this is a most worthwhile issue, both for the historian to study and for the numismatist to collect.

¹⁵ *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester* (Everyman edition), p. 6.

REVISED RULES FOR THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL

1. The obverse of the medal shall bear a device representing Britannia on the seashore, surrounded by the legend THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY. The reverse shall bear the legend THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS TRIENNIAL MEDAL, awarded to BY THE VOTE OF THE MEMBERS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS (the name of the recipient and date of the award being engraved in spaces left for that purpose).
2. In case such device and legend, other than the name of Mr John Sanford Saltus, shall from constitutional changes or other unforeseen circumstances become inappropriate or obsolete, they may be changed or varied by resolution of the Society's Council.
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4. The medal shall be awarded to the member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the *British Numismatic Journal* shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science.
5. A successful candidate shall not again be eligible for the award.
6. Where the paper or papers appearing in the *British Numismatic Journal* by different Members of the Society eligible for the award may seem to be of equal merit, it shall be open to Members in casting their votes to take account of other published work on British numismatics by the individuals concerned.
7. The award will be by ballot, and a form for this purpose shall be sent out together with the voting papers for the election of President, Officers and Council, and shall be returnable and counted with them at the Anniversary Meeting in each year in which the medal is to be awarded. Such a form shall include the words 'I vote for the award of the John Sanford Saltus Medal to . . .', with a space left for the Member's signature. It shall also contain the names of those previous recipients who are therefore no longer eligible for the award.
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9. No contributor to the *British Numismatic Journal* who is not a Member of the Society when the voting papers are despatched shall be eligible for the award.
10. Any canvassing by or on behalf of a candidate shall render his or her success inoperative, and the decision of Council shall be absolute on this head, nor need Council express any reasons for such a decision.
11. The result of the ballot shall be announced by the President or Chairman at the Anniversary Meeting in the year concerned.
12. The medal shall, if circumstances permit, be presented by the President or Chairman to the successful candidate in person at a subsequent Ordinary or Anniversary Meeting of the Society. On this occasion he shall use the formula 'You have been awarded the John Sanford Saltus Medal for the year . . ., by the vote of the Members of the British Numismatic Society, for your contributions to the *British Numismatic Journal*'.
13. The foregoing rules shall, so far as is possible, evolve with and upon any constitutional changes in the Society, but it shall be open to the Society's Council to make such alterations to them as shall from time to time be required.

November 1993

INDEX

- Abbreviations, 193
- Accounts of the Society, 168–9
- Æthelred II, coins of, 84–5, 151
- Scandinavian imitation of, 157
- Æthelweard of East Anglia, coin of, 150
- Æthelwulf, coins of, 150
- Alexander III, king of Scots, coins of, 87
- ALLEN, M. The chronology of Short Cross Class Ia, 54–8
- Anglo-Gallic coin, 157
- ARCHIBALD, MARION M. Contributions to the Coin Register, 145–54, 157
- Obituary of Wilfrid Slayter, 165–6
- ARCHIBALD, MARION M. and M.R. COWELL, their *Metallurgy in Numismatics* Vol. 3 reviewed, 159
- Athelstan I of East Anglia, coin of, 150
- Athelstan, coins of, 124
- Atrebat, coins of, 137–8, 144
- BARCLAY, C.P., Contributions to the Coin Register, 144, 155–8
- BARTLETT, R.W., Contributions to the Coin Register, 138–40
- Beonna of East Anglia, coin of, 149
- BESLY, E.M., Contributions to the Coin Register, 148, 151, 153, 156
- Recent coin hoards from Wales, 1985–1992, 84–90
- BIGGS, N., review of P. and B.R. Withers's *British Coin Weights: a Corpus of Coin-weights made in England, Scotland and Ireland for use in Britain*, 160–2
- BISPHAM, J., Contributions to the coin Register, 152–5
- BLACKBURN, M.A.S., A new mint for Stephen, RVC (Rochester), 126–7
- Contributions to the Coin Register, 144, 146–8, 150–2, 154–5, 157–8
- Two new halfpennies of Edward the Elder and Athelstan, 123–4
- BLACKBURN, M.A.S., M.J. BONSER and W.J. CONTE, A new type of Edward the Confessor for the 'Newport' mint, 125–6
- BLAND, R.F., Contribution to the Coin Register, 144
- BONSER, M.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 146–8, 151–2, 154–5, 157
- BONSER, M.J., M.A.S. BLACKBURN and W.J. CONTE, A new type of Edward the Confessor for the 'Newport' mint, 125–6
- BOON, G.C., A case-history of British bullion: Cardiganshire silver and the Feathers coinage 1671–1731, 65–83
- Brabant, coins of, 157
- Burgred, coins of, 149
- Burgundy, coin of, 157
- Byzantine coin, 144
- Cantii, coins of, 137
- Carolingian coins, 148
- Catuvellauni/Trinovantes, coins of, 138–40
- Celtic coins, 136–44
- CHALLIS, C.E., Presidential Address, 170–7
- review of Archibald and Cowell's *Metallurgy in Numismatics* Vol. 3, 159
- Charles I, coins of, 88
- Charles the Bald, coin of, 148
- Cnut, coins of, 151
- Coenwulf of Mercia, coins of, 149
- Coin Register, 133–58
- Constantine II, coin of, 144
- CONTE, W.J., M.A.S. BLACKBURN and M.J. BONSER, A new type of Edward the Confessor for the 'Newport' mint, 125–6
- CONYBEARE, CLARE, Contribution to the Coin Register, 146
- 'Corieltavi', coins of, 141–2
- COWELL, M.R. and MARION M. ARCHIBALD, their *Metallurgy in Numismatics* vol. 3 reviewed, 159
- CUDDEFORD, M.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 136–8, 140–1, 148, 158
- Cuthred of Kent, coin of, 148
- David I, king of Scots, coins of, 128, 156
- DAVIES, J.A., Contributions to the Coin Register, 136–7, 140–1, 145–57
- Devonshire, Dukes of, collection, 119–21
- Dobunni, coins of, 142
- Doubleday, Gordon Vincent, Obituary, 163–4
- DUNGER, G.T., Contributions to the Coin Register, 145, 147–8, 155, 157
- Durham mint, 128–9
- Durotriges, coins of, 142–3

- Eadred, coin of, 150
 Eadgar, coins of, 150
 Edward the Confessor, coins of, 125–6, 152
 Edward the Elder, coins of, 123–4, 150
 Edward I, coins of, 87
 – Irish coins of, 87
 Edward II, coins of, 87
 Edward IV, coin of, 156
 Edward VI, coinage of, 172–7
 Edward VII, coins of, 90
 EDWARDS, M., Contribution to the Coin Register, 149
 Elizabeth I, coins of, 87–8
- Finds (for single finds, see the geographical index to the Coin Register, 134–5)
medieval
 Cefn Coed, mid Glam., 86–7
 Monmouth, Gwent, 84–5
 Slebech, Pembs., 86
post-medieval
 Allt-yr-yn (Newport), Gwent, 89
 Cemaes Bay, Anglesey, 87
 Llanafan, Dyfed, 90
 Mynydd Fochriw, Mid Glam., 88
 Pontypridd, Mid Glam., 88–9
List of coin hoards discovered in 1992–93, 171–2
 Flanders, coins of, 157
- Gallo-Belgic coins, 136, 144
 George V, coin of, 90
 Gotland, coin of, 157
- Hainaut, coin of, 157
 HAMMOND, P.W. and LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS, Did Edward IV strike coins in Burgundy?: a Rose Noble in stone in Maastricht, 129–32
 Harold I, coins of, 152
 Henry I, coins of, 153–4
 Henry II, coins of, 20–58, 128–9, 156
 Henry IV, coins of, 59–64
 Henry of Northumberland, coin of, 155
 HOLMAN, D.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 144–7, 149, 152–5
 Honorius, coins of, 144
- Iceni, coins of, 140–1
- James I, coins of, 88
 – Irish coin of, 88
 James IV, king of Scots, coin of, 156
 de JERSEY, P., Contributions to the Coin Register, 136–44
 John Sanford Saltus Medal, revised Rules, 177
- KING, CATHY E., Contributions to the Coin Register, 137–9, 141–2
- LESSEN, M., York Annulet silver coins of Henry VI, 59–64
 Lothar I, Carolingian emperor, coin of, 148
- MANVILLE, H.E., Additions and Corrections to Thompson's *Inventory* and Brown and Dolley's *Coin Hoards* – Part 1, 91–113
 Mary, coins of, 88
 MASS, J.P., Of dies, design changes, and square lettering in the opening phase of the Short Cross coinage, 20–53
 Matilda, coins of, 155–6
 MAYHEW, N.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 151
 Merovingian coin, 144
 Metz, coin of, 157
 MITCHELL, P., Obituary of Gordon Vincent Doubleday, 163–4
- Namur, coin of, 157
 NEWMAN, J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 144–5, 147–8, 150–1
- Offa of Mercia, coins of, 148–9
- PAGAN, H.E., Andreas Fountaine Eques Auratus A.A.A.F. III Vir, 114–22
 – review of Vince's *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: 2. Finds and Environmental evidence*, 159
 Pembroke, Earls of, collection, 116–21
 Philip and Mary, coin of, 88
 Proceedings of the Society, 167
- RHODES, N.G., Contributions to the Coin Register, 149, 156
- St Edmund Memorial coins, 150
 Sceattas, finds of, 145–8
 SHIPP, S.J., Contribution to the Coin Register, 152
 SHOTTER, D., Coin-loss and the Roman Occupation of North-west England, 1–19
 Slayter, Wilfrid, Obituary, 165–6
 Stephen, coins of, 126–7, 154–5
 STEWARTBY, Lord, Three Durham notes, 128–9
 SYMONS, D.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 145, 152
- Tirol, coin of, 157

- VAN ARSDELL, R., Contributions to the Coin Register, 136, 142
- Venice, coins of, 158
- Victoria, coins of, 89–90
- VINCE, A., his *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London: 2. Finds and Environmental evidence* reviewed, 159
- Visby, coin of, 157
- VISSER-FUCHS, LIVIA and P.W. HAMMOND, Did Edward IV strike coins in Burgundy?: a Rose Noble in stone in Maastricht, 129–32
- VOLGANO, I., Contribution to the Coin Register, 150
- ‘Vota Publica’, Roman coin, 144
- William I, king of England, coins of, 152–3
- William II, king of England, coins of, 153
- William I, king of Scots, coins of, 128
- WILLIAMS, J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 144
- WINTER, M., Contribution to the Coin Register, 155
- WISE, P.J., Contributions to the Coin Register, 137, 142–3
- WITHERS, P. and BENTE, R., their *British Coin Weights* reviewed, 160–2
- York mint of Henry VI, 59–64

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